



VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 160.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1911.																
Before writing on this Schedule please read the Examples and the Instructions given on the other side of the paper, as well as the headings of the Columns. The entries should be written in Ink.																
The contents of the Schedule will be treated as confidential. Strict care will be taken that no information is disclosed with regard to individual persons. The returns are not to be used for proof of age, as in connection with Old Age Pensions, or for any other purpose than the preparation of Statistical Tables.																
NAME & SURNAME	RELATIONSHIP to Head of Family	AGE and SEX	PARTICULARS as to MARRIAGE				PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION			BIRTHPLACE	NATIONALITY	INFIRMITY				
of every Person, whether Member of Family, Visitor, Boarder, or Servant, who	State whether "Head," "Wife," "Son," "Daughter," or other Relative, "Visitor," "Boarder," or "Servant."	For Infants under one year state the age in months as "under one month," "one month," etc.	Write "Single," "Married," "Widower," or "Widow," opposite the names of all persons aged 15 years and upwards.	State, for each Married Woman entered on this Schedule, the number of—	Children born alive to present Marriage (If no children born alive write "None" in Column 7.)	Completed years of present Marriage (has lasted less than one year write "under one year," etc.)	Total Children born alive.	Children still living.	Children who have died.	Personal Occupation. The reply should show the precise branch of Profession, Trade, Manufacture, &c.	Industry or Service with which worker is connected. This question should generally be answered by stating the business carried on by the employer. If this is clearly shown in Col. 10 the question need not be answered here.	Whether Employer, Worker, or Working on Own Account. Write opposite the name of each person engaged in any Trade or Industry: (1) "Employer"; (2) "Worker" (that is working for an employer); or (3) "Own Account" (that is neither employing others nor working for a trade employer).	Whether Working at Home. Write the words "At Home" opposite the name of each person engaged in any Trade or Industry or at home.	(1) If born in the United Kingdom, write the name of the County, and Town or Parish. (2) If born in any other part of the British Empire, write the name of the Dependency, Colony, etc., and of the Province or State. (3) If born in a Foreign Country, write the name of the Country. (4) If born at sea, write "At Sea." NOTE.—In the case of persons born elsewhere than in England or Wales, state whether "Irishman" or "Visitor" in this Country.	State whether— (1) "British subject by parentage"; (2) "Naturalised British subject," giving year of naturalisation. (3) If of foreign nationality, state whether "French," "German," "Russian," etc.	If any person included in this Schedule is— (1) "Totally Blind," or "Deaf and Dumb," (2) "Totally Stupid," (3) "Lunatic," (4) "Imbecile," or (5) "Feeble-minded," state the infirmity opposite that person's name, and the age at which he or she became affected.

BALLOT PAPER

1	JONES WILLIAM
2	SMITH JOHN

NO VOTE NO CENSUS
If I am intelligent enough to fill in this Census Form I can surely make a Ballot Paper.

Write below the Number of Rooms in this Dwelling (Kitchens, Tenement, or Apartment). Count the kitchen as a room but do not count scullery, landing, lobby, closet, bathroom, nor wardrobe, office, shop.

I declare that this Schedule is correctly filled up to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signature _____

Postal Address _____

CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
Our Cartoon 417	The Law of Public Meeting. By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. 426
The Outlook 418	Official Blackmail. By Laurence Housman 427
Getting New Readers 418	Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc. 427
Treasurer's Note 418	Suffragist Plans for Census Night 428
Contributions to the £100,000 Fund 418	Welcome to Mr. Abbey 429
A Message from Australia. By Vida Goldstein 419	Announcements 429
Mass Meeting at the Albert Hall 420	The Campaign Throughout the Country 430
The Women and the Police 421	General News 434
£100 Damages for Mr. Hawkins 422	
Defence of the Bill 423	
"The Prisoner." By E. P. L. 424	
A Cause of Fashion 425	

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

One of the most successful meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union was held on Thursday last week at the Royal Albert Hall, when the following resolution was carried, with only one dissentient voice:

This Meeting condemns the dishonourable and unprincipled tactics employed by successive Governments in order to defraud women of their right to the Parliamentary Vote. The Meeting demands the immediate cessation of these tactics, and calls for the enactment of the Conciliation Bill in 1911. And further, the Meeting calls upon women to unite in determined militant protest against any attempt on the part of the Prime Minister to prevent this measure of justice being carried into law during the present Session of Parliament.

So quickly did the mighty audience respond to the points made by the speakers that one who was present for the first time expressed the view that, in spite of the many thousands who were there, it seemed like one great family party. It is interesting to recall that only

three years ago this same expression was used as a term of reproach to the W.S.P.U.

Special Features of the Meeting.

Miss Vida Goldstein, who had come specially from Australia to address the meeting, received a great ovation, many bouquets of flowers being handed up to her. Her speech, which we give verbatim on page 419, was full of good things, and showed her keen appreciation of the political conditions prevailing in this country. Dr. Ethel Smyth conducted in person her March, which she has dedicated to the W.S.P.U., and the audience were delighted with its power and beauty. As usual, a great feature of the meeting was the collection, which amounted in gifts and promises to some £5,000, raising the fund from £91,000, at which it stood last week in VOTES FOR WOMEN, to a total of £96,500. The meeting was brought to a close by a rousing speech from Miss Christabel Pankhurst, which we reproduce on page 420.

£100 Damages for Mr. Hawkins.

The victory gained by our friend Mr. Hawkins, in his action against the League of Young Liberals in Bradford, will come as welcome news, not merely to woman suffragists, but to all lovers of fair play. In consequence of his interjection of a remark about Votes for Women at a meeting held by Mr. Churchill in Bradford, last November, Mr. Hawkins was seized and ejected so violently that he fell, breaking his knee-cap and fracturing his ankle. As a result he has been crippled ever since and will never fully recover the use of his limb. Mr. Hawkins has now been awarded £100 damages by a jury sitting in Leeds. Among the interesting points which came out in the trial was the fact that, while ordinary interrupters were allowed to remain in the meeting, the mere mention of the word "woman" was enough to secure instant ejection. The

Judge, Mr. Justice Avory, laid down a number of important points of law. Firstly, that persons employing stewards are liable for the manner in which their duties are carried out. Secondly, that the mere interjection of a remark at a meeting (even at a meeting of a Cabinet Minister), is not of itself an offence. Thirdly, that until an interrupter has been asked to leave, any person who lays hands upon him is committing an assault. We deal with the political aspect of these decisions in our leading article this week.

Census Night.

Census night, to which Militant Suffragists have for some time been looking forward as an opportunity for a further protest against government without consent, is now close at hand. All plans are complete, and it is realised that an army of women very much larger than was originally supposed, running into many thousands, will resist or evade enumeration. We draw special attention to an article written for us by Mr. Laurence Housman, appearing on page 427, in which he foresees that attempts will be made by the authorities to intimidate intending resisters. We have from time to time stated clearly in these columns the utmost penalties to which those who refuse to give information render themselves liable, and those who take part in the protest are warned not to be deceived by the bluff of the Government's servants with regard to this matter.

Mr. Churchill and the Deputation.

We publish this week the important report of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Ellis Griffith concerning the behaviour of the police towards the women's deputation in November last. As we informed our readers last week, it fully bears out the conclusion of the Conciliation Committee that a *prima facie* case for enquiry had been made out. Lord Robert Cecil proceeds:—

Mr. Churchill accuses women of mendacity. Such an accusation requires more than the mere visit of a Minister to support it. Nor

is it in accordance with the principles of British justice to reject, without investigation, the evidence of scores of apparently respectable women.

In conclusion, may I ask whether anyone thinks that if the deputation had consisted of unarmed men of the same character, their demand for an enquiry would have been refused? Who can doubt that the Home Secretary and the other Ministers would have tumbled over one another in their eagerness to grant anything that was asked? Are we, then, to take it as officially admitted that in this country there is one law for male electors and another for voteless women?

And Mr. Ellis Griffith expresses himself as amply satisfied that there was unnecessary and excessive violence used against the women, and urges an impartial enquiry, not merely in order to decide the facts of the case in November last, but to establish and safeguard the principle that those who take part in public demonstrations are entitled to legal and proper treatment. We are glad that *The Nation* so far modifies its former attitude as to say:—

The Home Secretary appears to have shut the gate to a formal investigation, and lapse of time forbids a clear and practical issue to it. But we do not feel satisfied, either as to the general behaviour of the London police towards political crowds or as to their conduct on this occasion. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Churchill will have this matter very carefully under his eyes. Political rights must be safeguarded, even when we do not like the way in which they are asserted.

Perhaps on the next occasion *The Nation* will hesitate before accepting without reserve the official view.

Forcible Feeding in Prison.

The welcome given to Mr. Abbey on Saturday last at the Caxton Hall was well attended, and Mr. Abbey's plain statement as to the atrocious treatment which he had received in prison was listened to with indignation. Over £60 was contributed to the funds of the M.P.U. Meanwhile, Mr. Franklin, whose spirited and chivalrous protest led to his own arrest, is still in prison, and the same disgusting and brutal operation is being practised in his case. He is due to be released on Saturday morning in next week.

The Removal of the Sex Disqualification.

Adult Suffragists who oppose the simple removal of the sex barrier to the franchise are fond of quoting Australia in support of their contention. In the *Manchester Guardian* of Monday last Miss Vida Goldstein effectually disposes of this argument. She points out that Adult Suffrage exists only for the Commonwealth Parliament, and that property is the qualification for four of the Upper Houses in the State Parliaments, and property owners still have special electoral privileges for three of the Lower Houses. Australian women, in fact, made the same demand which the women in this country are demanding, namely, that women should have the vote on the same terms as men, property or no property, and this it is which they have won throughout the whole continent of Australia, both in the Commonwealth and in the separate States.

A Remarkable Pronouncement.

Lord Justice Cherry, in pardoning a man at Belfast who had thrown an explosive substance, and had injured another man, used these words:—

Unfortunately, at the present time people in almost every political party had been openly advocating violence as a method of obtaining political changes. They had titled ladies writing to the *Times* endeavouring to show that violence was the only means by which political improvement, as they considered it, could be obtained, and it was very deplorable and not to be wondered at that headstrong youths like the prisoner would transfer those principles into practice, which might produce very lamentable results.

A more remarkable ground for a judgment it would be difficult to find!

Music of the Woman's Movement.

We hope that all Woman Suffragists will make a point of being present to-morrow evening at the Queen's Hall, when Dr. Ethel Smyth is producing for the first time several spirited items of music, specially composed in connection with the Woman's Movement. We give further particulars and a portrait of the celebrated composer on page 427.

Pressure on our Space.

We regret that owing to the extraordinary pressure on our space we have been obliged, in spite of the increased size of our issue, to hold over much valuable matter, including the final chapter of Mr. Shallard's interesting series of articles on Warrior Women, a report of the Rev. Rhonda Williams' important speech at the Queen's Hall, and also our report of a recent pronouncement made in Glasgow by the Rev. John Hunter. We hope to include these in subsequent issues.

Items of Interest.

At the meeting of the Falmouth Town Council on Thursday, March 23, a resolution urging the Prime Minister to grant facilities to Sir George Kemp's Woman Suffrage Bill was passed by nine votes to five.

We have received the financial statement of the Croydon Women's Social and Political Union. The total receipts are £272 3s. 5d., as against £105 18s. 10d. during the preceding year, and the total expenditure £259 3s. 2d., as against £84 12s. 1d. We congratulate the Croydon Union on having finished its activities during the financial year.

GETTING NEW READERS.

How much can be done by a single member of the Union to break down the Press boycott is shown by the following letter of Dr. Marion MacKenzie, of Scarborough, who wrote on March 18:—

"I sold 19 copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* outside a lecture on Social Legislation. This morning I sold 50 in the town. Unfortunately it was very wet, and our regular papersellers were away, so I was the only one. But I may be able to sell a few more at the theatre to-night, though I find theatregoers very hard to get at. I am writing to the *Woman's Press* for 100 extra. I sold 133 for Self-Denial Week, and my sister 72, but it was a very wet week, and we happened to be busy otherwise. Mr. Howard Rowntree spoke for us the other night, and he said his first instinct was to say that the Militant Suffragettes were unbearable, but he had gradually come to the conclusion they must be women of strong conscientious beliefs, and he felt that having been a believer in Votes for Women as an ideal he had come to think he must do something practical to help women to get it. He said the thing that impressed him more than anything was the way in which they would stand in the cold and rain for hours selling the paper."

Since the above was written Dr. MacKenzie has sold in the street 170 copies of last week's issue, and in spite of the fact that she has a great deal of work of her own to do.

Of course everyone cannot achieve the splendid results of Dr. MacKenzie, but there is scarcely anyone who could not manage to dispose of six or a dozen copies of the paper each week. I have also received the following from a school-girl, Miss Margaret Ker:—

"I have obtained ten new readers for the paper *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. These all prefer to have the paper brought round by me personally each week. I used to sell the paper every week in the street; but, as I am still at school, my head mistress objected, and I have been obliged to stop. However, I am leaving school next July, so after that I shall begin to sell again."

March 20—March 25.

Previously known...	1,561	Miss K. Paget	1
Miss Weston	1	Miss M. M. Schofield	1
Mrs. Mansell Moullin	1	Miss A. K. Robertson	2
Miss L. Gargett	1	Mrs. A. Blyth	1
Mrs. J. Levy	1	Miss C. I. Craig	1
Mrs. A. M. Burton	1	Miss L. A. Wilson	1
Miss F. Sanborn	1	Mrs. Gill	1
Miss Hay	1	Mrs. Lovegrove	1
Mrs. Bannan	1	Mrs. Massey	2
Miss Flatman	2	Dr. Florence Arncliffe	1
Miss S. Pankhurst	1	Mrs. A. Pollard	1
Mrs. Pollock	2	Mrs. Boyd (Missouri)	1
Miss W. Mayo	1	Equal Suffrage Association	1
Miss Liddle	1	Mrs. Ralph	1
Miss C. Haig	3	Mrs. Partington	1
Miss W. F. Buckley	1	Mrs. L. Henderson	1
Mr. J. Philimore	1	Miss B. Wylie	4
Mrs. M. Marks	1	Miss Haig	1
Miss M. E. Hughes	1	Miss Pocock	1
Miss S. M. Dean	1	Mrs. Ashenden	1
Miss P. Duncan	1	Miss M. M. Woodman	1
Miss E. Annenberg	1	Mrs. F. S. Rowe	2
Miss E. Leo	5	Miss Strong	1
Miss A. Crossland	1		
Miss Turle	1		
Miss E. G. Evans	1		
Miss Leslie Over	1		
			1,623

Miss Sloane has very kindly promised to pay for the paper to be sent to all the nine libraries mentioned last week. In addition, Miss M. A. Smith and Mrs. Thomas are each prepared to pay for two libraries; while Miss Tucker writes that she will pay for the paper to be sent to Cheltenham and Great Yarmouth Libraries for six months, and to continue both subscriptions if at the end of six months it is found that it is duly put out on the tables. She will also pay for a copy for six months to be placed in the Exeter, York, and Norwich Free Libraries, or in a man's, or man's and woman's club, if we find it would be accepted. (These papers to be supplied through local newsagents.)

F. W. P. L.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

All the members of the Union are rejoicing in the magnificent sum put together at the Albert Hall on March 23. Never before has such an enormous shower of promise cards poured down upon the platform at a public meeting. The members and friends seemed determined to outdo themselves in generosity and enthusiasm.

The first three contributions announced were significant of the spirit which prompts such giving. The first was a sum of 5s sent by an old lady in Exeter with the words, "I have just had the first week's instalment of my old-age pension, and, not being able to do more, have sent you that as my little act of self-denial for our noble Cause." The second contribution was the gift of one who has passed away from our midst, having laid down her life for the Cause so dear to us all. A letter to the Treasurer announced that Miss Henrietta Williams had left £50 to the Union in her will. The third came from the first subscriber to the funds of the Union in London five years ago. It was sent from a bed of sickness. Cheers greeted the name of the giver, Miss Mordan, who for more than forty years has worked for the Suffrage Movement on behalf of women, and for the last five years has been one of the most earnest supporters of the militant movement. These three gifts were the precious first-fruits, and the magnificent contribution of £5,000 was more than completed by the sum of £170 which was found in the collecting boxes, too late for the fact to be publicly announced at the meeting.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

March 20 to March 22.

Already known...	2 s. d.	Miss Irene Margeson	0 10 8
Mrs. G. M. Smith	0 5 0	Mrs. G. M. Smith	0 5 0
Mrs. P. J. H. Smith	0 5 0	Mrs. P. J. H. Smith	0 5 0
Mrs. and Miss Stevens	0 10 0	Mrs. and Miss Stevens	0 10 0
Miss Mabel Urquhart	0 7 0	Miss Mabel Urquhart	0 7 0
Miss Wilson	0 3 6	Miss Wilson	0 3 6
Mrs. P. C. P. Newson	1 0 0	Mrs. P. C. P. Newson	1 0 0
Miss Edith Stacey	0 10 0	Miss Edith Stacey	0 10 0
Miss N. B. MacMann	0 10 0	Miss N. B. MacMann	0 10 0
Miss Adelaide Skidley	0 1 8	Miss Adelaide Skidley	0 1 8
Miss M. Billing	0 10 0	Miss M. Billing	0 10 0
Miss M. B. Crook	0 2 8	Miss M. B. Crook	0 2 8
Miss A. L. Hyde	1 0 0	Miss A. L. Hyde	1 0 0
Miss D. Brown	0 0 0	Miss D. Brown	0 0 0
Miss Anna Gratton	1 0 0	Miss Anna Gratton	1 0 0
A. L. W. and C. J. W.	0 6 0	A. L. W. and C. J. W.	0 6 0
Miss B. K. Grainger	1 0 0	Miss B. K. Grainger	1 0 0
Miss F. Howarth	0 2 8	Miss F. Howarth	0 2 8
Miss Margaret Forbes	1 5 0	Miss Margaret Forbes	1 5 0
Miss B. Child	0 10 0	Miss B. Child	0 10 0
Anon.	1 0 0	Anon.	1 0 0
Miss Joan T. Crombie	5 1 0	Miss Joan T. Crombie	5 1 0
Miss M. B. Gardiner	2 0 0	Miss M. B. Gardiner	2 0 0
Per Miss Fontaine		Per Miss Fontaine	
Mrs. Edmunds	0 10 8	Mrs. Edmunds	0 10 8
Mrs. Groer	0 2 8	Mrs. Groer	0 2 8
Miss Mary Barrett	0 5 0	Miss Mary Barrett	0 5 0
Per Miss V. Hughes		Per Miss V. Hughes	
Collected—Batham	1 12 0	Collected—Batham	1 12 0
Per The Woman's Press		Per The Woman's Press	
Miss Ethel Birmingham	0 10 8	Miss Ethel Birmingham	0 10 8
Collecting Cards		Collecting Cards	
Miss Alice Byrne	0 7 3	Miss Alice Byrne	0 7 3
Miss D. W. Bailey	0 3 0	Miss D. W. Bailey	0 3 0
Miss Adela Baily	0 5 0	Miss Adela Baily	0 5 0
Miss L. A. Fleming	0 6 0	Miss L. A. Fleming	0 6 0
Miss Olive Clapson	0 3 6	Miss Olive Clapson	0 3 6
Miss M. R. Hammond	0 3 6	Miss M. R. Hammond	0 3 6
Miss B. M. Crawley	0 6 0	Miss B. M. Crawley	0 6 0
Miss A. M. Crawley	0 7 6	Miss A. M. Crawley	0 7 6
Miss A. Bell	0 6 0	Miss A. Bell	0 6 0
The Misses Dallas	0 12 0	The Misses Dallas	0 12 0
Miss A. Elliott	0 10 0	Miss A. Elliott	0 10 0
Miss E. M. Bellaham	0 3 8	Miss E. M. Bellaham	0 3 8
Miss Kate Jackson	0 5 0	Miss Kate Jackson	0 5 0
Master T. Tindle	0 6 0	Master T. Tindle	0 6 0
Anderson	0 6 0	Anderson	0 6 0
Mrs. Emily Gray	0 10 0	Mrs. Emily Gray	0 10 0
Miss Ada Beck	1 0 0	Miss Ada Beck	1 0 0
Miss Greenall	1 0 0	Miss Greenall	1 0 0
Anon. 5897	0 3 0	Anon. 5897	0 3 0
Miss Maude Burgess	0 9 0	Miss Maude Burgess	0 9 0
Miss J. Johnson	0 5 0	Miss J. Johnson	0 5 0
Miss Nancy Glegg	0 6 0	Miss Nancy Glegg	0 6 0
Miss M. I. Arnison	0 4 6	Miss M. I. Arnison	0 4 6
Miss Ella Dalby	0 4 2	Miss Ella Dalby	0 4 2
Miss Mary Davis	0 6 6	Miss Mary Davis	0 6 6
Miss E. Grierson	0 6 0	Miss E. Grierson	0 6 0
Miss Amy M. Hicks	0 12 8	Miss Amy M. Hicks	0 12 8
Miss M. M. Hislop	0 6 0	Miss M. M. Hislop	0 6 0
Miss Amy D. Edwards	0 12 0	Miss Amy D. Edwards	0 12 0
Miss Helen Gratton	1 0 0	Miss Helen Gratton	1 0 0
Miss P. D. Horn	0 6 0	Miss P. D. Horn	0 6 0
Miss L. Chapman	0 12 8	Miss L. Chapman	0 12 8
Miss Mollie Cather	1 0 0	Miss Mollie Cather	1 0 0
Miss Catherine Finn	0 8 0	Miss Catherine Finn	0 8 0
Anon. 10092	0 6 0	Anon. 10092	0 6 0
Mrs. Kate Gately	0 10 8	Mrs. Kate Gately	0 10 8
Miss O. C. Couper	0 13 0	Miss O. C. Couper	0 13 0
Miss May G. Gordon	1 14 0	Miss May G. Gordon	1 14 0
Mrs. E. Erickson	0 16 0	Mrs. E. Erickson	0 16 0
Miss Alice Hawkins	0 3 6	Miss Alice Hawkins	0 3 6
Miss M. Gillies	1 0 0	Miss M. Gillies	1 0 0
Princess Sophia	1 12 0	Princess Sophia	1 12 0
Dulcep Singh	1 6 0	Dulcep Singh	1 6 0
Miss L. M. Jenkins	0 19 0	Miss L. M. Jenkins	0 19 0
Miss Lalla Blundell	0 4 6	Miss Lalla Blundell	0 4 6
Mrs. E. Melrose	0 8 0	Mrs. E. Melrose	0 8 0
Miss Rivers-Thompson	0 8 0	Miss Rivers-Thompson	0 8 0
Miss Daisy Solomon	1 10 0	Miss Daisy Solomon	1 10 0
Miss Gertrude Pegg	1 0 0	Miss Gertrude Pegg	1 0 0
Miss A. Murray	0 7 0	Miss A. Murray	0 7 0
Miss F. B. Roberts	0 3 0	Miss F. B. Roberts	0 3 0
Miss Gjou Waagen	0 13 6	Miss Gjou Waagen	0 13 6
Miss H. M. Todhunter	0 15 0	Miss H. M. Todhunter	0 15 0
Mrs. Emily Pertwee	0 6 6	Mrs. Emily Pertwee	0 6 6
Miss M. G. Rolison	1 11 0	Miss M. G. Rolison	1 11 0
Miss M. Pendered	0 15 0	Miss M. Pendered	0 15 0
Mrs. E. Harley	0 2 0	Mrs. E. Harley	0 2 0
Miss Odette Frunier	0 3 0	Miss Odette Frunier	0 3 0
Miss M. A. Willson	0 10 0	Miss M. A. Willson	0 10 0
Mrs. Wall	0 10 0	Mrs. Wall	0 10 0
Miss M. R. Manger	0 10 0	Miss M. R. Manger	0 10 0
Mrs. Stamford	0 6 6	Mrs. Stamford	0 6 6
Miss A. Parry	0 7 0	Miss A. Parry	0 7 0
Miss Cassie E. Pratt	0 12 0	Miss Cassie E. Pratt	0 12 0
Miss K. Simpson	0 18 0	Miss K. Simpson	0 18 0
Misses Sharnan and	0 2 6	Misses Sharnan and	0 2 6
Bols	0 10 0	Bols	0 10 0
Mrs. A. Newell	0 10 0	Mrs. A. Newell	0 10 0
Mrs. Ben. Wickman	0 14 0	Mrs. Ben. Wickman	0 14 0
Mrs. H. Martin	1 0 0	Mrs. H. Martin	1 0 0
Mrs. Arthur Sykes	0 16 0	Mrs. Arthur Sykes	0 16 0
Mrs. B. Robinson	0 6 6	Mrs. B. Robinson	0 6 6
Miss P. Robertson	0 10 6	Miss P. Robertson	0 10 6
Mrs. Stratton	0 2 6	Mrs. Stratton	0 2 6
Miss Maud Moscop	0 10 3	Miss Maud Moscop	0 10 3
Miss Jane Lomax	0 10 0	Miss Jane Lomax	0 10 0
Miss Nina Lomax	0 6 0	Miss Nina Lomax	0 6 0
L. G.	0 2 0	L. G.	0 2 0
Miss E. L. Tucker	1 2 6	Miss E. L. Tucker	1 2 6
Miss H. Peet	0 2 6	Miss H. Peet	0 2 6
Mrs. M. J. Littlejohn	1 3 8	Mrs. M. J. Littlejohn	1 3 8
Mrs. Louisa L. Miller	2 6 8	Mrs. Louisa L. Miller	2 6 8
Mrs. Mary M. Morris	0 10 0	Mrs. Mary M. Morris	0 10 0
Miss Poppy Morris	0 3 0	Miss Poppy Morris	0 3 0
Miss Jo p. p. Smetar	0 3 7	Miss Jo p. p. Smetar	0 3 7
Mrs. R. and Perks	0 12 7	Mrs. R. and Perks	0 12 7
Miss M. Piper and	1 4 8	Miss M. Piper and	1 4 8
Miss A. Wright	1 0 0	Miss A. Wright	1 0 0
Miss H. S. Lewis	0 6 0	Miss H. S. Lewis	0 6 0
Mrs. J. Williams	1 0 0	Mrs. J. Williams	1 0 0
Miss A. M. Warren	0 3 0	Miss A. M. Warren	0 3 0
Miss E. M. Searle	0 2 6	Miss E. M. Searle	0 2 6
Miss Eva West	0 10 0	Miss Eva West	0 10 0
Misses N. J. and F.	0 9 2	Misses N. J. and F.	0 9 2
Nichols	0 7 0	Nichols	0 7 0
Mrs. Kate Marshall	0 17 6	Mrs. Kate Marshall	0 17 6
Mrs. MacLachlan	0 15 0	Mrs. MacLachlan	0 15 0
Miss Blane Senn	0 4 0	Miss Blane Senn	0 4 0
Miss L. J. Shaw	0 3 3	Miss L. J. Shaw	0 3 3
Miss L. Wilkinson	1 0 0	Miss L. Wilkinson	1 0 0
Mrs. Eleanor Maund	1 0 0	Mrs. Eleanor Maund	1 0 0
Miss Victoria Thom-	1 0 0	Miss Victoria Thom-	1 0 0
son	1 7 0	son	1 7 0
Mrs. Laura A. Will-	0 16 0	Mrs. Laura A. Will-	0 16 0
son	1 8 0	son	1 8 0
Miss Mary Mackenzie	0 12 6	Miss Mary Mackenzie	0 12 6
Mrs. M. Shaw Brown	0 9 0	Mrs. M. Shaw Brown	0 9 0
Miss Julia Haywood	0 5 0	Miss Julia Haywood	0 5 0
Miss M. S. Gibb	0 5 0	Miss M. S. Gibb	0 5 0
Mrs. Harford Law-	0 5 0	Mrs. Harford Law-	0 5 0
son	0 5 0	son	0 5 0
Miss C. Hopkins	0 4 0	Miss C. Hopkins	0 4 0
Mrs. E. K. Balbirnie	0 9 3	Mrs. E. K. Balbirnie	0 9 3
Mrs. A. B. Baker	0 19 7	Mrs. A. B. Baker	0 19 7
Sale of leaflets	55 11 8	Sale of leaflets	55 11 8
London, etc.	91 12 9	London, etc.	91 12 9
Per Miss L. Burns	2 12 4	Per Miss L. Burns	2 12 4
Per Miss O. Fontaine	2 16 2	Per Miss O. Fontaine	2 16 2
Per Miss L. Gerrie	1 6 7	Per Miss L. Gerrie	1 6 7
Per Miss V. Hughes	0 10 11	Per Miss V. Hughes	0 10 11
Per Mrs. Mansell		Per Mrs. Mansell	
Total	£21,535 9 7	Total	£21,535 9 7

NOTE.—This list contains contributions for three days only.

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Fethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

A MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIA.

Extracted from the Speech of Miss Vida Goldstein at the Albert Hall, London, on Thursday, March 23, 1911.

I shall always be glad to think that the truly enfranchised women of Australia, women enfranchised in spirit as in fact, recognised the inner meaning of this movement from the very beginning. In 1905, when those two girls, Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, fired the shot, heard round the world by all lovers of freedom, we knew in Australia they had heralded a new age of chivalry, the chivalry of woman towards woman. And to-night I bring to you a message from my fellow-workers in Australia. We offer you our reverent appreciation of the spiritual insight and fidelity to principle that are enabling you to overcome, and speedily overcome, the materialistic forces arrayed against you. We sympathise with your militant policy, believing that you embarked upon it as the result of earnest deliberation, and from a knowledge bitterly forced upon you, that the more peaceful methods employed by your predecessors for so many years were bound to continue wholly ineffectual.

We know that only the loftiest ideals could inspire such devotion and such tragic self-sacrifice for a principle as you have shown. And we in Australia are proud to think that we are of your blood and race. It has fallen to us in our young country, where prejudices have not had time to solidify to the same extent as in older countries, to gain the charter of our womanhood by a comparatively easy road, the road of persistence, certainly, but not of martyrdom. And in the name, again, of these Australian women, we are on the side of you militant women, and we offer you our deepest gratitude for having demonstrated to an unbelieving world the real existence of the sisterhood of women.

The Humiliation of the Grille.

I have only been a few days in England, and this is my first visit here. On the second day I was taken to see your Houses of Parliament, and there I saw one thing that alone justifies the existence of this movement, and that was the Grille. I hear people laugh at the existence of that Grille. I felt deeply humiliated when I saw it. It is a wonder to me that the women of England have tolerated it so long. That Grille signifies the harem idea of women, and disguise the fact as we may, it is on that that all legislation affecting women is based. I am very proud to think it was one of my own countrywomen, Muriel Matters, who had a hand in damaging it!

Your Woman Suffrage movement has a special significance for us in Australia, who can view it from the standpoint of a long and varied experience of the vote in school, municipal, State and Commonwealth politics. You know well enough the utter hollowness of the anti-Suffrage arguments. But I should like to deal with just one or two to-night. It may interest you, I think, to hear a brief survey of them by a woman who knows what it is to work for women and children without the vote and with it. Mrs. Humphry Ward says that women cannot grasp the broad lines and main points of public questions, but would legislate on side-issues. Australian women voters have shown as comprehensive and as intelligent a grasp of all public questions as men have shown, and they have improved Parliamentary measures by exacting the introduction of "side-issues" which men, whose training does not impel them to attend to small but necessary details, had overlooked. When the Public Service Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives (the Lower House in the Commonwealth Parliament), that Bill dealt only with the broad lines and main points affecting the employment of men. Solely through the work of women voters several so-called "side-issues" affecting the employment of the women in the service were considered on broad lines, and finally converted into main points, to our satisfaction.

"Side Issues."

You will find that there is a great tendency to regard everything affecting women as "side-issues," and it is not until women become voters that legislators begin to realise that there are many things touching them and their children that are really main points. Take, for instance, the question which always rouses the greatest interest and activity amongst men, that of property. All down the ages men have done every possible thing to safeguard their property so that it could not be wrested from them. But the property of women was such a paltry side-issue that the men quietly put it in their own pockets! And it took the Woman Suffragists of England, assisted by men who were themselves in favour of women having the vote, many, many years to establish by law the principle that women, married women, have a perfect right to the control of their own property. And the women of England to-day who are using their money to fight against Woman Suffrage owe the power to do so to the Woman Suffragists of an earlier generation.

Then, again, Mrs. Humphry Ward tells us that women would lay stress on the individual side of life. That is quite true, and well indeed it is so. Life is a hideous affair for the great majority of people to-day, because men, fulfilling their natural duty of safeguarding the collective and material interests of the nation, have found it impossible to safeguard the

individual and spiritual needs of its citizens. At this stage of our economic development it is the duty of the husband to provide for the family group. It is the wife's duty to superintend the welfare of the individuals comprising that group. As in the home so in the State. And in Australia women voters, while not neglecting the collective interests of the nation, are giving special attention to the individual welfare of all the citizens, and the individual they are especially desirous of protecting is the child, the future citizen. Women have suffered severely from bad educational and industrial conditions, and they want to save their children from a similar fate. And so in Australia these women are concentrating their attention on the welfare of the child.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

You are told that women are seeking to enter into competition with men in politics. Modern industrial conditions, made entirely by men, are driving more and more women, even in a young country, to be actual breadwinners. Men have relentlessly sucked women into the industrial whirlpool, they have made a devastating war on women, and now women with the vote in Australia are seeking to protect themselves, and men also, by establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work. If women are to be reserved for home and motherhood, equal pay for equal work is necessary, for as long as competition is the rule of trade, just so long will the cheapest labour be that most in demand. Women are cheaper than men, but children are cheaper than women, and the child is becoming an integral part of the industrial machine. It is our aim in Australia to prevent that. When capitalists and manufacturers are consumed with an abnormal passion for profits, neither woman nor child is sacred, and I assure you, it is all moonshine for people to tell you that the vote has no effect on the economic status of women! Before we got the Suffrage in Australia no one would listen to us about equal pay for equal work. We had deputations to Ministry after Ministry, interviews with Members of Parliament one after another, and we were told it was impossible ever to think of equal pay for equal work. No sooner was the Suffrage granted in Australia than we got equal pay for equal work under the Commonwealth Law, and no sooner was the State Suffrage Bill passed in Victoria than in the very next session there was a Bill brought in to deal with the salaries of the State School teachers, and in the junior grade in the education department we already have equal pay for equal work. Every session now equal pay for equal work is discussed in Parliament. It is impossible to deal with any measure affecting wages in which this question does not come up; we have got it in one thing after another, and I am sure it will not be many years before it is the rule everywhere.

The "Women cannot Fight" Bogey.

Then, again, the anti-Suffragists here tell you that women cannot fight. Well, the history of all the ages, ancient and modern, right down to the Suffragettes, disproves that! Women can fight, have fought, and are fighting valiantly for freedom. But if the anti-Suffragists told you that women won't fight, there would be some approximation to the truth in that statement. They won't fight when they get the vote, or at least they will be very much more chary than men about plunging their country into war. For everywhere you go you hear women pleading earnestly that war is a barbaric method of settling international disputes. But at the time of the South African war the Australian women were as much overcome as the Australian men by the cry of freedom for the oppressed, freedom for the Uitlanders, and although at that time they were Uitlanders in their own country, they willingly sent their husbands and sons to fight for a cause that they believed was just. And to-day, when the naval and military defence of our isolated continent is in the very forefront of the political programme of both parties, we find the women taking as keen an interest in the subject as men—with this notable difference, that we hear more from the women about maintaining our land and sea forces for the purpose of defence and not offence.

Dissension in the Home.

Then, again, we are told—we hear it said in this country—that women (I believe also it is one of Mrs. Humphry Ward's arguments) will be guided by men in the matter of voting. We have plenty of stupid women in Australia who allow their husbands to do all their thinking for them, but I can assure you that they are not nearly so numerous as the men who allow their favourite newspaper to dictate to them! I do not know which argument I read oftener, when I am reading about the English Suffrage movement—that Woman Suffrage will bring dissension into the home, or that women will be guided entirely by men in the matter of voting. Of course the one argument annihilates the other. But what is a trifle like that to an anti-Suffragist? As a matter of fact, I do not know of one instance where the vote has caused dissension in an Australian home except in those homes where dissension is the prevailing condi-

tion. But will any sane person say that because some husbands and wives are so petty-minded as to quarrel on every subject they discuss, that no women should have a vote? In all countries the men who insist that their sons shall be political echoes of themselves are regarded as tyrannical and unreasonable, and in Australia husbands who claim that their wives should have no political opinions of their own are regarded as tyrannical and unreasonable. Our Australian men are broad-minded enough to think that their wives are fully entitled to their own political opinions, and I may remind you of instances where men have risen to such dizzy heights as to admit that the political insight of their wives was superior to their own.

Next May there is to be an Imperial Conference meeting here in London. Now, I want to remind those women who still think that women should not have a vote, and the men too, that there will be some men attending that conference who will be representing women voters. Our Australian representatives go into that conference instructed by us women to do certain things, and is it not an unthinkable proposition that England's grand-daughters should have equal representation with the men in that conference and that England's own daughters should have no representation at all? I believe that this is a most critical year for your movement. I do hope—I believe—that it will be a year of peace. You have excellent opportunities of getting your Bill carried on May 5, and I think the reason I have just reminded you of, this Imperial Conference, is an additional reason why you should win through on May 5.

You have all noticed that in the hall to-night is a motto: "God befriend us." Mrs. Pethick Lawrence alluded to this movement as being a religious movement. If it were not a religious movement it could not be what it is to-day. But, instead of "God befriend us," let us know that *God befriends us*, and that He is with us in this fight, and that there is no power which can defeat the cause of justice. Remember, it is fear that kills. The thing we greatly fear comes upon us. Have no fear about May 5. You must know that your cause is just. You know it is just, and because right is might, you must prevail.

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MASS MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

"The time has come to Deal with this Unrest."

It might be said of most political movements that, like the Red Queen, they have to keep running all the time in order to stay in the same place. We in our movement, however, go forward always, whether we run or whether we stand in the same place; and never more rapidly than when we stand still, as we do just four times a year, at the Albert Hall. Of course, we never forget to mark time when we stand. It is only in sham fights, like the one which is being waged between kind hearts and coronets, at Westminster, that you will find the combatants standing at ease, when they halt in the intervals of pretending to spill Norman blood. All the rest of the time they run, and run, and run; and they are always in the same place.

An Albert Hall meeting would have become a commonplace by now if history had merely played its old game of repetition. But when your policy is a marching policy, and every incident in the campaign lands you a step farther along the road than you were before, no two halts are made on the same ground, in the same frame of mind. We have halted more than once since that first Albert Hall meeting, held in the almost primeval days of 1908, when street hawkers stood outside and sold toy skeletons to the tune of "All that is left of the Mere Man, one penny!" and scarcely one of the mere men ventured inside. Each time, the great assemblage of women has marked a moment in the women's agitation; and once or twice it has been a great moment. There was one Albert Hall meeting of protest and indignation, at a moment when women prisoners were being subjected to unspeakable indignity and suffering; there was another, the one held just before the Deputation of last November, when the tense feeling in the audience, laugh though it might at one of the wittiest speeches ever made in the cause of woman's freedom, would have told any observer that here was an army on the eve of battle, not afraid, but deeply stirred and quite unconquerable. Those are moments that never will be forgotten by those who have passed through them.

Last Thursday evening another of these halts was called; and our tireless, indomitable army again marked time, cheerfully this time, but with the cheerfulness that means to go all the way. It had slain many bad jokes since its first halt in 1908, but none so bad or more completely, perhaps, than that ancient gibe about the total extinction of man; and outside the Hall, this time, were no hawkers and no skeletons. One recalled them only when, inside the Hall, men's voices were heard to be as loud as women's in calling "Shame!" as Mrs. Pankhurst talked of the proposed payment of members by voteless women; and in cheering men who were suffering in prison for the cause, who were winning the cause in the law courts, who were risking fame and friendship and ancient political fealty for it. Never was any skeleton more tightly nailed down in its coffin than that of the Mere Man of four years ago.

Like former Albert Hall meetings, this one was marked by deeds that were greater than words, and by a spirit that was greater than either. Once more, a woman who has turned the traditional office of Treasurer from that of a beggar into that of a magician, with an added touch of the Lord High Executioner about it, stood beside a gaping basket, and at her command, not heads, but cheques fell into it, and would be falling still, I believe, if the giving of money did not unfortunately occupy so much time. Was there ever another political movement, one wonders, when people tumbled over one another in their eagerness to give money, until the process actually became a little boring? The thing that mattered, the spirit that prompted the givers, was not boring, however. When names instead of amounts were cheered by the audience, so that it was nearly always impossible to hear what sum was given by any woman who had won her spurs in the battle, one knew that money would always be poured into that war chest, because in the givers was something that no money could buy.

Not only is time money, but money is time at an Albert Hall meeting; and at somewhere about the fifth or sixth thousand subscribed, deeds had to give way to words. All through the speeches it was again the spirit in the speakers that counted. When Dr. Ethel Smyth exhorted everyone in the audience who knew the Women's March to join in singing it, "as well as those who do not," one recognised the born Suffragette, who is out to attack every kind of ignorance, with sublime confidence in the result. When a great shout of anger went up from every throat in the audience at Mrs. Pankhurst's defiant, "We want the Prime Minister's hand taken off our Bill!" one heard

the unmistakable note of victory. Again and again one heard it all through the evening, and it was a sound that made one feel glad not to be the enemy that is wasting its time over a sham fight at Westminster. There is something very terrible in the pause that is made by an army just before it goes into battle; but I think, if I were the enemy, I should be just as much afraid of the army that is equally prepared, equally determined, though it does not yet know when the battle will be.

It is a truism to say that those who fight for freedom are free already. Last Thursday evening, there was a woman on the platform who knew both kinds of freedom, the kind that is achieved in fighting and the kind that is thrust upon willing citizens. She was the only British freewoman in the whole of that great audience, the only woman who had known what it was to try to improve the condition of women both with the vote and without it. Her admiration for the militant suffragists who had "proved to an unbelieving world the existence of a sisterhood of women"; her anger at the treatment that has been shown to those women; her scorn for the position of woman in this country, epitomised in her amazement at the sight of the grille in the House of Commons, "a thing that alone would justify this movement"—all this was good to hear from one who spoke with the grace and the charm and the humour that are always the qualities of the free and never of the slave. All the cant about Empire, with which anti-suffragists have sickened us, went down before the broad Imperialism of this daughter of Empire who is free while her mother stays fettered. An English statesman once stood up in the House of Commons to demand a policy of conciliation in the treatment of rebel colonists who had refused to be taxed without representation. "Magnanimity in politics," he said, "is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great Empire and little minds go ill together." Last Thursday evening, it was a free colonist who stood up to demand that a similar policy should be shown to rebel Englishwomen. Burke did not win his appeal in 1775, though the rebel Americans won their freedom all the same. I think Miss Vida Goldstein knew, when she supported the Conciliation Bill in her speech, that, with or without conciliation, we should win ours.

Evelyn Sharp.

MRS. PANKHURST.

Before opening the proceedings Mrs. Pankhurst referred to the case of Mr. Hawkins, which had just taken place at the Leeds Assizes, and which is fully reported on pp. 422-3. The following telegram had been received just as the speakers were about to enter the hall:—

"Verdict for Hawkins. Damages, £100, with costs. Judge summed up strongly in favour of plaintiff."

When the applause which greeted the reading of this telegram had died down, Mrs. Pankhurst said that in this Woman Suffrage agitation there was a considerable amount of legal injustice, but at last light was breaking through the cloud of injustice. She congratulated that devoted friend of the cause, Mr. Hawkins, on his triumph.

The March of the Women.

A pretty little ceremony followed, namely, the presentation to Dr. Ethel Smyth by Mrs. Pankhurst of a baton in recognition of her great services in composing and presenting to the Union the "March of the Women." Dr. Ethel Smyth, who wore her academic robes, replied, and then conducted the song, which was sung by the choir on the platform, the entire audience joining in.

Carry the Bill!

When the enormous volume of sound had died away Mrs. Pankhurst described the Bill now before Parliament, explaining that the Suffrage societies had always asked for one thing and one thing only; they had asked unitedly for the complete removal of the disability of sex; that women entitled like men on the property basis should have the property vote; that women entitled to vote as heads of households; that women qualified as men lodgers are qualified should vote like men lodgers; that women university students should have the university franchise. Those had always been the demands of women themselves, but, in order to please other people, women had agreed to support a Bill which would confer upon women the vote on the household basis. That women heads of households, and only women heads of households, should have the vote, summed up the Conciliation Bill.

Mrs. Pankhurst pointed out that this great meeting had gathered not only to demonstrate in support of the Bill, but to condemn emphatically the policy of Governments of the past and present with regard to Woman Suffrage. Suffragists had asked this Government, as they had asked other Governments, to introduce a Government measure to give

representation with taxation to the qualified women of the country. Like other Governments, this Government had refused to introduce a Government measure. More, they had done all they could—and they were omnipotent in these days—to make it absolutely impossible for a private member's Bill to pass into law. "By trickery," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "and I use the word advisedly—by political trickery of the most contemptible kind, the hopes of women have been dashed ever since 1870 until 1910. I ask you if it is not time not only for women to condemn such tactics, but for men also? If, as some people say, the men who vote for second readings only do so because they know they will never be brought to the test of voting for a third reading, let us know where we are. Let us have no more of that kind of business! It is dishonourable of the men who practise it, and it is degrading to the women upon whom such conduct is practised."

Why Women Revolt.

Proceeding, Mrs. Pankhurst asked, "Can it be wondered that in the Twentieth Century women are in revolt? Can you wonder that educated, intelligent women will not submit to this kind of thing any longer; that in these days, when women are bearing at least their share of the national burdens, and performing at least their part of national service—when it is expected and demanded of them—they insist upon the status of citizenship? If this meeting to-night may have the effect of rousing in members of the House of Commons and in members of the Government some of the feelings which a few men held, but unfortunately not a majority of statesmen held, before the great American revolt which led to the breaking down of British power in that great continent, this meeting will not have been held in vain. I ask myself often, is there not one statesman to-day who, like Burke, can point out to his colleagues that the time has come to deal with this unrest, and to ask whether it is not time to act and restore peace and retain the loyalty and devotion of those women whose sole object is the welfare of the country and whose chief concern is the honour of our great Empire."

Women Demand a Pledge.

Mrs. Pankhurst next pointed out that just as Government pledges had been given to the Irish, the Welshmen, and the Labour Party (including a pledge which means serious things for women and men—namely, that this year shall see the payment of members), women demanded their enfranchisement. After five years of strenuous agitation, after having filled the Albert Hall oftener and more fully than all the other political parties in the country put together, after the great processions and demonstrations in London and all over the provinces, had not women a right to a pledge from the Prime Minister that facilities should be given for the successive stages of the Woman Suffrage Bill, if it passed its second reading on May 5?

The parties to which she had alluded had the constitutional weapon, the vote. Women had no such weapon. They had to use other forms of pressure. One of these was Census resistance. Since women did not count, they refused to be counted.

Statisticians said this was very wrong, that these statistics were vital for many purposes, chiefly for legislative purposes. Exactly. Just because they were vital women refused, until they had the means of influencing legislation as they wished it, to provide the material which might be used to their detriment. Intentions of legislators were doubtless good, but there was a pavement. "We have firmly made up our minds," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "that unless that pledge is forthcoming before the evening of April 2 we shall not fill up our Census papers. I advise the statisticians to use the few days that remain to get out of Mr. Asquith a pledge of fair-play for the Women's Bill."

Thousands upon thousands of intelligent women who were interested in these great social questions were taking this stand. If, after the Bill passed its second reading, it went comfortably and safely through the Committee Stage and Report Stage, then women would send to the Census authorities the information temporarily withheld.

In conclusion, Mrs. Pankhurst called upon every woman present, for the sake of her womanhood, for the sake of her country, for the sake of justice, for the sake of all that was dear to her fathers, to make up her mind to come into the fighting line, to help to give this last long push which would end this weary struggle for women's emancipation. Mrs. Pankhurst then read the resolution, as follows:—

The Resolution.

This Meeting condemns the dishonourable and unprincipled tactics employed by successive Governments in order to defraud women of their right to the Parliamentary Vote. The Meeting demands the immediate cessation of these tactics, and as is for the enactment of the Conciliation Bill in 1911. And further, the meeting calls upon women to unite in determined militant protest against any attempt on the part of the Prime Minister to prevent this measure of justice being carried into law during the present Session of Parliament.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

In seconding the resolution, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence told the story of a country rector who was asked to arrange a "quiet day" for his congregation, and who replied that the only thing that would do any good was

an earthquake! The Government, Mrs. Lawrence pointed out, had ignored the greatest Constitutional campaign ever carried out in this country for any political reform, they had trampled upon the elementary principles of liberty in the Constitution in order to crush this agitation. They had, as Mrs. Pankhurst had said, used trickery in order to defeat the women's Bill, and it seemed that the only thing that could wake up the Government to a sense of their duty to the country was a sort of political earthquake. She seconded the resolution most heartily. She believed it expressed the conviction of the meeting, the spirit and temper of the meeting. The time for mild words, mild counsels, and irresolute action had gone by. Women felt very deeply on this matter, and because they felt deeply they must speak forcibly, and be prepared to back their speech with courageous and determined action. When she looked round and saw what was happening on all sides, she felt reassured that if it were not for this movement, and for the indomitable and invincible spirit in it, the outlook for the women in this country would be very dark indeed. Mrs. Lawrence then referred to cases in which attacks were being made, not only on the political liberty, but on the economic, personal, and human liberties of women. Quoting some specific cases referred to in VOTES FOR WOMEN for March 24, she said these attacks were not the less sinister because they attracted very little public notice. It had to be a very keen eye and a very alert sense that could find out what was going on through the few lines that appeared in columns of the daily papers.

A Religious Movement.

Proceeding, Mrs. Lawrence said that many people were shocked when they heard that 1,000 women had laid themselves open to the indignities and pains of arrest, that over 700 women had suffered imprisonment, that one man, even at that moment, because of his conviction and his sense of the seriousness of this question, was enduring in prison the tortures of the disgusting process of being fed by force. Strangers present might think that the enthusiasm manifested in this movement was more suitable to a religious movement than to a political one. (A voice: "That is what it is.") "Yes," said Mrs. Lawrence, "you have forestalled me. This is a religious movement. That is the reason of its invincibility; that is the reason why no political forces can or shall prevail against it. Our enemies have tried, by persecution, by imprisonment, by misrepresentation, by slander, by boycott, to bring this movement to naught. They had not succeeded." (Cries of, "No, no; they never will.")

"The answer is unmistakable. What they have succeeded in doing is this: they have brought the movement to four noughts, standing on the right-hand side of a figure of very positive value! They have almost succeeded in bringing it to five noughts, and I think they will go a long way to the achievement of that success to-night. We shall go very near to the completion of our £100,000 fund. I know what is going to happen when I sit down. I know that from every quarter of the hall promises and cheques and cash are going to rain down upon this platform, and I know that this basket is going in a very few minutes from now to be full to the brim. I know the spirit that is in you, members of the Women's Social and Political Union. I know that, once having taken up this great mission, you are going to see it through to the end. I know that the women—yes, and the men—in this audience, having lifted up the flag of women's liberty, will never let it drop until they have planted it firm on the citadel of women's citizenship."

The Collection.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was right. Hardly had she ceased speaking when the promises began to pour in as if by magic. There were two for £1,000, one of £250, one of £200, and many smaller amounts, until, counting the collection, the amount stood at £96,500.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

It was evident that everyone in the vast gathering had decided to give Miss Goldstein a truly British welcome. For several moments she was unable to begin her speech, so great and sustained was the clapping. In her opening words Miss Goldstein referred in terms of the warmest appreciation to the leaders of the militant movement, and drawing a comparison between their five years' leadership of the Union and the frequent errors made in a short time by any British Cabinet. The colossal success of this militant policy was its greatest danger; but in all the subtle temptations that success brought these women had kept a cool, calm, clear, unflinching judgment. Miss Goldstein referred in warm terms to the splendid chivalry of the men now fighting for the women's movement. Her speech is fully reported on page 419.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst also supported the resolution. Our resolution, she explained, falls into three parts. I want to say a word or two about each of them. First of all, the resolution condemns the dishonourable and unprincipled tactics whereby successive Governments have deprived women of their right to the Parliamentary vote. I need not take your minds back through the history of this movement. It suffices that I remind you of the dis-

honourable tactics used against us in 1910 and of the tactics which already have been employed in this present session. None of you have forgotten how we were on the eve of success last year, and how the only thing which stood between us and victory was the veto imposed upon the Conciliation Bill by the Prime Minister. Well, in this movement we waste no time in regretting defeats that have gone. Our whole thought is always of the present and the future. We live now in the hope of victory this year.

Wasting Parliament's Time.

How has the Prime Minister dealt with our cause in the present year? He has denied us the right of having the Suffrage Bill discussed on an early Friday in the session. Without the smallest justification—as events have proved—he deprived the private member of his time until after Easter. The course of debate in Parliament has shown that what we suspected was literally true—namely, that this was done to diminish our hope of getting the Bill carried into law. The waste of time that has occurred in Parliament since the beginning of the session until now is notorious, and we have the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News* complaining that financial business has been done by stages too easy. This invasion of the private members' rights has not been made to advance the Parliament Bill, because the Parliament Bill has not been advanced. Time has merely been wasted—time which ought to have been spent in discussing our Bill.

Government's Unworthy Methods.

The resolution then goes on to demand the immediate cessation of these unworthy methods and calls for the enactment of the Conciliation Bill this session. Now, my friends, we want you all to help us to get the Government to let the Bill through this year. And, first, we want you to cast aside all doubt. There is too much doubt even now in the Suffrage movement. Let us purge the movement from it. What does Blake tell us?

"If the sun and moon should doubt, They'd immediately go out."

Nothing more true than that was ever said. If we doubt we destroy this great movement which is so dear to us. If we have faith, and if that faith is expressed by works, then we are triumphant because nothing can prevail against us.

We Make no Apology.

We are confident that we shall overcome the tactics we are condemning to-night. We are prepared to see this Bill go this year through all its stages into law. But experience has taught us that we must be ready for methods other than peaceful. That is why we have introduced a third clause into our resolution. It calls upon women to unite in determined militant protest against any attempt on the part of the Government to destroy our Bill this year as they destroyed it last. We make no apology for asking women to be militant. We ask those women who are not ready for militancy what counter proposal they have to advance? What is your policy? If you are not militants, what is your policy? We demand your answer to that question, and unless you have an answer then you must no longer criticise us. Do you depend upon the policy of meetings? I say that we in this Union can do as well as you can at that. There is no Constitutional society either of men or women that is more active and successful than we are in the direction of holding meetings. How much notice is Mr. Asquith going to take of this great meeting that we are holding here this evening? What do the politicians tell us? "Meetings don't count." What, then, does count? They refuse to tell us, therefore we have investigated and discovered for ourselves, and we say that militancy counts, and militancy alone. We want non-militant women to look facts in the face, and to realise that they have a great responsibility.

Be Honest.

We say to you non-militant women, do not sin against the light. Do not let cowardice blind your vision. Be honest with yourselves. Think this thing out clearly without any heat or emotion. Ask yourselves what is the good of a constitutional policy to those who have no constitutional weapon. We say to constitutional Suffragists, you are no longer children, and you must not play the part of children. You are women with the souls and minds of women, and you must quit yourselves like women. I will put two questions to you: Do you deny that these militant methods are necessary? You cannot. You must know they are necessary. History teaches you that they are; present-day experience teaches you that they are. And again I ask you, "Are militant methods right?" Yes, they are right. They are the only methods that are right. If we rely on constitutional methods when our intelligence tells us that these methods are in vain, then we are cowards. Morally and physically we are cowards. And that is not a thing that any woman likes to be. You do not approve of violence, you say. Remember what John Bright said of this, "I have no objection to violence," he said, "provided it has a moral basis." That is the secret of the whole thing. Violence is inhuman, and is monstrous when it is employed, as violence was employed not long ago at Westminster, by those in authority in order to maintain a great injustice against the attack of those who are struggling to be free. Then violence has an immoral basis. But when violence is used—not that it has yet been used—but if violence should have to be used by women in order to gain their rights as human beings

and as British citizens, then that violence will have a moral basis, and therefore it will be right.

"Public Nuisances."

I see that a bishop writes to to-day's paper to say that he disapproves of our methods. He tells us that to become a "public nuisance" is not the best way of showing one's fitness for public responsibility. Well, that is a maxim which I would recommend to the notice of at least one of our Cabinet Ministers. But in the sense that we women are a public nuisance—and we say to Bishop Welldon that we take his words as a high compliment—to be a "public nuisance" in the sense that we are one is a sign that we are fit for public responsibility, because it is a sign that we will no longer tolerate being denied such public responsibility. Hampden was a "public nuisance" in his day. I say, thank God for Hampden, as I hope the happy, brave, free, splendid women of the future whom we are trying to work for and to build for may say, thank God for the Suffragettes. The "public nuisances" of to-day are sometimes recognised as the public benefactors of to-morrow.

But, my friends, to what a desperate pass have we in this country come when ministers of religion, teachers, and leaders of the people will teach such despicable lessons as are set forth in Bishop Welldon's letter to the *Times*. Bishop Welldon may say what he likes, but I know what Christ would have said, and I know which side he would have been on. He would have been on the side of the women who are fighting to be free. The fact is that our critics would think we were right if we were not women.

"Liberals" and Liberalism.

If we were men they would applaud our militancy. What said Mr. Asquith when the South African War was being fought for the sake of "equal rights for all whites"? a promise not actually fulfilled when the Liberal Government came into power, because they have withheld votes from women and with deplorable results. Mr. Asquith defended the action of the Uitlanders who fought because they could not wait five years for the vote—and we women are militant for a much greater reason in order to redress a much greater wrong. Mr. Asquith, defending these men who took up arms in the cause of political liberty, quoted the very memorable words of Gladstone. "Gladstone said, 'I am persuaded that there is nothing more demoralising to a community than passive acquiescence in unmerited oppression.'" And then Mr. Asquith continued, "That was Mr. Gladstone's doctrine, and if it were a sound and true one it does not seem to me that it ceases to apply when the victim of unequal laws are not foreigners, but our own fellow-subjects." Yes, Mr. Asquith, and we go further than you and we say that this doctrine applies whether the people struggling for freedom are men or whether they are women.

Be Ready!

We are here to claim our right as women, not only to be free, but to fight for freedom. That is our right as well as our duty. It is our privilege, as well as our pride and our joy, to take some part in this militant movement which, as we believe, means the regeneration of all humanity. Our aim is very high. Our eyes are looking very far. We cannot hear, we cannot see the small-minded people who try to hold us back. Nothing but contempt is due to those people who ask us to submit to unmerited oppression. We shall not do it. And we say calmly and deliberately this: If our Bill is again vetoed we shall go again to Westminster—not one, not three, not a hundred, not four hundred, but one thousand strong. And my call to the women here to-night is this: Be ready—be ready when the hour comes. Be ready to show that women are human and have the pride and dignity of human beings. Our pride and dignity are only to be sustained in face of insult from the Government by means of active militant resistance. Through such resistance our cause will triumph. But even if it should not, we fight not only for success, but in order that some inward feeling may have satisfaction. We fight that our pride, our self-respect, our dignity may not be sacrificed in the future as they have been in the past.

These Things Must End.

No one will ever know what women have suffered—not in their material interests, these are as nothing compared with what I mean—no one will ever know what women have suffered in their spirit and in their soul. We say these things must end. We say that women must stand erect now and for ever more. Then even if they should not win success—and we know they will win it—at least they will deserve success, and that is what matters more than all beside. Women, our call to you is this: Be united. Make yourselves a great conquering army. Let us be so many, so strong, so brave, so proud that nothing outside matters, no hostile forces, no counter-move. Let us give up counting the forces that are against us. Let us see the great forces that are for us. First of all, there is the strength of women; the greatest human force in all the world.

They tell us we have not the strength of men. We do not want it. We have the strength of women. That is enough for us. Ah! but we have more—the divine, the spiritual forces, are on our side. We have with us the force that is greater than humanity—the force that has brought humanity into being. We have that force with us, and therefore we cannot fail.

The Resolution was passed by the enormous audience with one dissentient.

THE WOMEN AND THE POLICE.

Demands for an official enquiry by the Home Office into the charges brought by the Conciliation Committee as to the treatment of the women's deputation last November, continue to be made, and in several of the daily papers during the last few days the following weighty letters from Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., have been published.

Sir,—At the request of some of those who took part in the Women's deputation to the House of Commons on November 18, of last year, I have endeavoured to examine the allegations made against the conduct of the police on that occasion. With that object I have carefully read upwards of one hundred statements made by eye witnesses, and I have also seen and questioned ten of the women who were there. Such an investigation is, of course, insufficient to ascertain the whole truth of what actually happened. But it is enough to justify the conclusion that there is a clear case for a searching and impartial inquiry.

The following facts are either admitted or beyond reasonable dispute:—

1. The women taking part in the deputation collected partly at Carlton Hall and partly at Clements Inn. They were instructed by their leaders to avoid all violence. They were entirely unarmed, even umbrellas or parasols being forbidden. Among them were women of all ages up to sixty-five or seventy. They proceeded in groups of twelve, a quarter of an hour's interval or thereabouts dividing one group from another. Some of the women carried banners. Most of them wore gloves. Granted their determination to carry out the deputation, which, personally, I think regrettable, it is difficult to see what arrangements less likely to cause a breach of public order could have been made.

2. Some of the women, including Mrs. Pankhurst, were allowed to approach quite close to St. Stephen's entrance. The rest were stopped some distance away. Very few arrests, if any, were made for several hours, and during that time the women suffered every species of indignity and violence. In some cases their arms and their fingers were twisted. In others they were struck in the face and beaten. Several of them were thrown to the ground and some were kicked. All this does not depend on the evidence of the sufferers alone. It is confirmed by those who saw the condition of their limbs and bodies immediately afterwards. Some of the women still feel the effect of the treatment they then received.

Apart from the assaults above-mentioned, complaints of indignities of a very gross kind have also been made by women, and some of these were repeated in my presence. They do not, however, admit of corroboration in the same way as do some of the other assaults.

Two answers seem possible. It may be that these groups of unarmed women acted so outrageously that the police were compelled to meet violence with violence, and beat and kick those whom they could not otherwise control. This appears to be the view of the Home Secretary, for he says that if they had been men they would have been dispersed by a baton charge, and doubtless he knows that such a measure cannot legally be taken against peaceful demonstrators. All that can be said at present is that the women strenuously deny that they were guilty of any such violence. If they were, it is at least curious that they were not immediately arrested, and that, as I understand, no evidence of any serious assault was offered against any of those who were ultimately brought before the court.

Another defence may be that the treatment of the women was due to the crowd and not to the police. No final opinion is possible on this point under existing circumstances. The women are clear and emphatic that uniformed constables were guilty of many acts of violence. Mr. Churchill accuses them of mendacity. Such an accusation requires more than the *ipse dixit* of a Minister to support it. Nor is it in accordance with the principles of British justice to reject without investigation the evidence of scores of apparently respectable women.

In conclusion, may I ask whether anyone thinks that if the deputation had consisted of unarmed men of the same character their demand for an enquiry would have been refused? Who can doubt that the Home Secretary and the other Ministers would have tumbled over one another in their eagerness to grant anything that was asked? Are we, then, to take it as officially admitted that in this country there is one law for male electors and another for voteless women?

Yours obediently,
(Signed) ROBERT CECIL.

4, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.

March 14, 1911.

Dear Sir,

With regard to the Women's Deputations in November last, I have read more than a hundred statements by eye-witnesses. I have also had the opportunity of hearing and investigating the evidence of five women who were members of the Deputation or spectators. It is clearly difficult under the circumstances to bring responsibility home to individuals, but I am amply satisfied that there was unnecessary and excessive violence used against the women who took part in the deputation, and that they were assaulted in a way that cannot be justified.

Under these circumstances I strongly support a searching and impartial inquiry, not merely in order to decide the facts of the case, but in November last, but in order to establish and safeguard the principle that those who take part in public demonstrations are entitled to legal and proper treatment.

Yours faithfully

(Signed) ELLIS J. GRIFFITH.

3, (North) King's Bench Walk,
Temple, E.C.

March 22, 1911.

PRESS OPINIONS.

LABOUR LEADER.

The responsibility of the Government for shilly-shallying with regard to the subject of Women's Suffrage he [the Home Secretary] leaves entirely out of sight, and with consummate effrontery suggests that the women have no one to blame but themselves for their injuries. No doubt if the women had shown themselves as valorous as the Home Secretary when he was snap-shotting hiding from danger behind a wall, things wouldn't have happened: the women Suffragists would have escaped unhurt. But then the women are prepared to sacrifice themselves for a great cause and a great principle. The Churchills are not built that way. From first Churchill to last they have always been on the side of the big battalions. In their readiness to join the winning side both the first Churchill and the last reveal their kinship to the Vicar of Bray. It is a legitimate surmise that if the Tories had remained the predominant party Mr. Churchill might have been a Cabinet Minister all the same.

WESTERN MAIL.

Whatever may be alleged against the leaders of the Woman Suffrage movement, they seem, in regard to the incidents of the November deputation to the House of Commons, to have been the victims of their own patience and of a too ample confidence in the judgment of the Home Secretary. They made their complaints to Mr. Churchill promptly enough, and no one who had the least desire to be fair could deny the general allegation that they were subjected to violence and indignity. But they have waited in vain for the inquiry they solicited. Despairing of Mr. Churchill, they have placed their complaints before two eminent King's counsel—Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. E. J. Griffith, M.P.—both of whom have declared, as a result of their investigation, that an ample case exists for a searching and impartial inquiry. Neither of these legal gentlemen goes so far as to endorse the complaint that the kicking and beating and the gross indignities which many of these women endured were perpetrated by the police. They could not fairly go so far on the strength of ex-parte statements; but there is no denying that the police remain under suspicion of serious misconduct, and the Home Secretary ought to order a full and authoritative inquiry in the interests of the police as well as in the interests of the ladies who have been shamefully abused.

MISS GOLDSTEIN AT MANCHESTER.

On Monday, March 27, Miss Vida Goldstein was accorded a hearty welcome at the Atheneum Hall meeting. In the course of her remarks she said after five years of militant agitation the time had come for the Government to give way. Some people seemed to think that Mr. Asquith presented an insurmountable obstacle to the passage of their Bill. They ought not to recognise obstacles when they had truth and justice at their back. Dealing with the old Anti objections, Miss Goldstein said she found Woman Suffrage opposed in England in the same way as it was formerly in Australia. If only ten women were enfranchised it would bring the woman's view into politics. In Australia Woman Suffrage did not affect party politics in the slightest degree. Women voted largely with men on general political questions, but when a matter arose which closely affected them as women they cast a fairly solid vote. Women were beginning to feel that it was wrong to organise on the old political lines, because they found men would not act on their convictions and principles. Women were more conscientious and scrupulous than men, and would not sacrifice principles for party. Miss Adela Pankhurst also spoke, and Miss Jessie Stephenson was in the chair.

MISS MORDAN.

The sympathy of the members of this Union will be with that devoted friend of our Cause, Miss Mordan, who is very seriously ill in a sanatorium near Colchester. Miss Mordan has spent between forty and fifty years of her life in advocating, with unfailing loyalty and devotion, the Cause of her own sex. A member for nearly forty years of the older Woman's Suffrage Society, she joined the militants immediately after Annie Kenney came to London, and was the first subscriber to the great campaign fund, which now stands at the total of over £58,000. Not content, however, with giving financial support, Miss Mordan threw herself, heart and soul, into the work. She took part in by-elections, actually chalking notices of forthcoming meetings on the pavement, and was always ready to render any service, no matter how arduous and fatiguing. Her wit and humour as a speaker fascinated even those audiences which at the outset were inclined to be restless. Every speaker in the Union remembers how glad she was when Miss Mordan was in the chair, and how easy it was to speak to people who had laughed themselves into a good humour. The present illness of Miss Mordan was caused by overwork. She insisted on going to Ipswich last July in order to take the chair for Mrs. Pankhurst; she made her last public speech when she ought to have been in bed. No one, from her humorous, laugh-provoking speech, could have guessed that she was ill. No one could make her give in till she suddenly collapsed and could do no more. She has been in bed now for five months, and is still very weak, but the one thing in which she still takes an interest is the great Cause to which she has given her life. Our thoughts support her, and we feel that the presence of her spirit will be with us as a strength and benediction until the freedom of women is won.

£100 DAMAGES FOR MR. HAWKINS.

Mr. Justice Avory on the Conduct of Public Meetings.

"Until an interrupter has been asked to leave, any person who lays hands on him and turns him out is in law committing an assault."

The action brought by Mr. Alfred Hawkins for damages against Mr. Geo. Muff and other members of the Committee of the Bradford League of Young Liberals resulted on Thursday in last week in a verdict in favour of the plaintiff (Mr. Hawkins) of £100 damages and costs. There is a possibility, however, that the defendants may decide to appeal. This decision has to be made not later than Monday next.

The trial lasted two days, and several important points with regard to the conduct of public meetings were decided by the judge (Mr. Justice Avory) in the course of his summing up.

In the first place, he ruled that where any set of persons employ stewards for a meeting, and expressly or impliedly authorise them to eject interrupters, then the persons employing the stewards are liable for the manner in which the duties of the stewards are carried out.

Secondly, he ruled that there is no foundation in law for the assertion that when a Cabinet Minister is addressing a political meeting nobody has a right to say a word or interrupt him by asking any question at all. Such an interruption does not of itself constitute an offence against the Public Meetings Act.

Thirdly, he ruled that when a person is lawfully present in a meeting he has a right to remain there. The fact that he makes an interruption or any disturbance does not justify the chairman or the stewards in forcibly ejecting him. It may, perhaps, justify them in asking him to leave the meeting, and if he refuses to do so he may then have forfeited his lawful right to remain and be liable to forcible ejection. But to lay hands upon a person before requesting him to leave quietly is an assault.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are familiar with the story of the case. Briefly, the facts (as reported in our issue of December 2 last) were that Mr. Hawkins was present at a meeting in Bradford on November 26 addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill. Though several men who interjected remarks on other questions (one man from the gallery shouting "liar!") were left undisturbed, those who referred to the question of Woman Suffrage were dealt with summarily. Mr. Hawkins himself received severe injuries—a broken knee cap and a fractured ankle, as a result of which he was several weeks in hospital and is still obliged to use crutches.

HEARING OF THE CASE.

The case was heard at the Leeds Assizes on March 22 and 23, before Mr. Justice Avory and a special jury. Mr. E. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., and Mr. A. P. Longstaffe (instructed by Messrs. Hatchett, Jones, Bisgood and Marshall, and their local agents, Messrs. Taylor, Jeffery, and Jessop), appeared for the plaintiff, and the defendants were represented by Mr. Waugh, K.C., and Mr. R. Story Deans.

At the outset Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., said it was desirable that as far as possible the matter should be unaffected by political feeling, and there were two gentlemen on the jury whom he would prefer not to hear the case. He did not for a moment suggest that their politics would have any effect on their judgment, but it was important that the slightest appearance of a chance of that should be prevented.

Mr. Waugh: I don't know on what ground the application is made.

The Judge said he was bound to assume there were grounds for it, and, as it was important not only that justice should be done, but also that justice should seem to be done, if either party thought it better that any member of the jury should retire he should accede to an application that he should be replaced.

Thereupon Mr. John Wm. Buckle and Mr. John Wm. Clough Wilson were called upon to retire from the jury, and two other gentlemen were sworn in their places.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., then opened the case for the plaintiff and narrated the facts of Mr. Hawkins's forcible ejection from Mr. Churchill's meeting.

Mr. Hawkins in the Box.

The plaintiff, who appeared in the box leaning on a crutch, bore out the opening statement. He said, examined by Mr. Longstaffe, that he had no communication with anyone before going to the meeting, and did not know the other people who interjected. One of the exclamations he heard was "Liar!"

Mr. Longstaffe: Was that addressed to Mr. Churchill?—I cannot say.

Was there anybody else it could apply to? (Laughter.)—I don't know. The remark appeared to be made by someone in the gallery immediately above me.

The witness proceeded to describe how he was seized in the meeting by three stewards, who, assisted by two others, rushed him along the corridor, to the stone steps leading down to the entrance to the hall, and how he was violently pushed downstairs and injured, as counsel had stated. As a result of his injuries he was unable to follow his employment as a shoe operative.

Cross-examined by Mr. Waugh, plaintiff said that the occasion at Bradford was not the first time he had interrupted a meeting of Mr. Churchill's.

You interrupted him at a meeting at Leicester?—Yes.

And you were then removed from the meeting?—Yes.

And charged next day before the magistrate? No; I was arrested and locked up, and was taken before the magistrate a few hours afterwards.

And you were bound over to keep the peace?—Yes.

Were you fined?—No; I think I was ordered to pay the costs, 7s.

Did you not promise you would not interrupt again?—I didn't make any specific promise.

The Judge: He was bound over to keep the peace only; you cannot bind a man over not to open his mouth again.

Plaintiff denied that he wanted to fight when turned out of the meeting. He made no resistance; he was too anxious to get out.

Charles Robinson, a policeman at Bradford, stated that he saw the plaintiff ejected from the hall. Witness was standing at the entrance. As plaintiff was being forced down the stairs he heard him say, "Don't, my leg has gone." No notice was taken of this.

Witness could see that something was wrong with one of his legs. When he had been got outside the door he tried to support himself by the wall, but collapsed on the steps. Witness heard somebody remonstrate, and the reply made to that was, "If you don't shut up you will get the same."

Mrs. Rutter, one of the witnesses of the plaintiff's ejection from the hall, stated that at least five of the men who put plaintiff out wore yellow ribbons. Plaintiff had no option about coming down the steps. He was forced down. His arms were pinioned, and his head forced back. He was pushed from behind and then kind of stumbled down the steps. Very unnecessary violence was used.

A Quiet Interjection.

Mr. Francis Watson, a Bradford solicitor, stated that he personally was not in favour of Woman Suffrage. He had come forward voluntarily to give evidence in this case. He was seated just in front of the plaintiff at St. George's Hall and heard his interjection. It was a perfectly quiet remark. He saw that Mr. Hawkins made no resistance when being removed. He was quite sure no request to leave was made. After Mr. Hawkins had been dragged out backwards, thumping and bumping could be heard from the corridor, which indicated that the man was being handled very roughly.

Mr. James Jack, one of the stewards at the meeting, said he was in the vestibule, and saw the plaintiff brought down the steps. There were three or four "chaps hanging on to him." They had hold of his arms. Some of the men had stewards' badges.

In reply to Mr. Waugh, witness said plaintiff was, he would not call it struggling, but wriggling.

Dr. J. H. Rawlinson, house surgeon at the infirmary, Bradford, and Dr. W. F. Peake, of Leicester, agreed that there would be permanent defectiveness of the plaintiff's knee, but there would be considerable improvement on its present condition.

THE DEFENCE.

Mr. Waugh said none of the defendants were alleged to have used violence to the plaintiff. Unless it could be proved that what was done in this case was by the express authority of the defendants, the plaintiff had not established his case.

Mr. Atkinson submitted that, as the defendants, as a committee, appealed for stewards, and gave them instructions, they were liable.

The Judge: I have considerable doubt about this point, and you will have the benefit of it in another court if it is a good one; but I think there is just enough evidence, and that I must leave it to the jury.

Mr. Harold Newton Town, Bradford, the chief steward at the meeting, said that in reply to a question from one of the stewards witness expressed the opinion that if there was any interruption the interrupters must be "got out." That applied to stewards in the gallery, where, on account of free places, there was a possibility of disturbance occurring. The stewards in the stalls did act as though they had received instructions such as he gave to the gallery stewards, and in his opinion they acted properly.

Mr. Atkinson: Will you swear that the possibility of a Suffragist disturbance at this meeting was never discussed or mentioned by you in committee?—I think not.

On your oath, sir. Think again. Will you swear?—I won't swear.

Have you inquired who were the persons guilty of this assault?—Personally I have not. Do you think it a regrettable occurrence?—Must I answer that question, my Lord?

His Lordship: Yes, it may lead to another. The witness replied to the question in the affirmative.

Mr. Atkinson: Have you ever expressed regret for it?—Not personally.

Has any member of the committee, so far as you know?—No, sir.

In reply to his Lordship, the witness said that there were four or five men ejected, the last of whom said: "Why are these men ejected directly they mention the word 'women'?"

His Lordship: And the moment he said that he was ejected for asking the question?—Yes, my Lord.

What it comes to is that anybody who mentioned the word "women" was ejected? (Laughter.)—Yes.

What was the offence of the last speaker except his mention of the word "women"?—He was breaking up the peace of the meeting.

His Lordship: To mention the word "women," apparently, was like a red rag to

a bull. (Laughter.) There was no evidence that the last person ejected was even an advocate of Woman Suffrage. He might have been actuated by curiosity to find out why other persons were being ejected. (Laughter.)

Mr. Foster Sunderland, a Bradford teacher, one of the defendants, said no instructions were given by the committee to the stewards for the ejection of interrupters.

Replying to Mr. Tindal Atkinson, he said he did not think any superfluous energy was displayed—as was stated in a local Liberal paper—in removing the interrupters.

Do you agree with the statement in the *Yorkshire Observer* that at Mr. Churchill's meeting the interruptions were neither frequent nor serious?—As events turned out I think they were serious.

A Friendly Interrupter.

Do you consider the interjection of the word "Liar" an interruption?—It is so short that few people would take any notice.

The Judge: Do you mean that?—It was not a loud interruption, and was not heard on the platform.

Mr. Atkinson read another extract from the *Yorkshire Observer* in which Mr. Churchill's speech was reported to be interrupted by the interjection of the words "Shame" and "He's a liar," and asked witness whether he heard it. Witness replied, amid some laughter, that the word "liar" referred to Mr. Balfour, whom Mr. Churchill had just previously quoted.

Mr. Atkinson: Why wasn't he turned out?

Witness: Because he was a friendly interrupter. (Laughter.)

The Judge: It seems that it was only the unfortunate persons who used the word "women" who were ejected.

This completed Mr. Sunderland's evidence, and the Court adjourned till the following day.

At the resumed hearing on Thursday, March 23, Mr. Thos. Illingworth Clough stated he never gave any instructions as to ejecting persons.

In reply to cross-examination, the witness said he considered it wrong for members of the audience to interrupt speakers.

Mr. Atkinson: What is there wrong; if I object to something a speaker is saying or doing—have I no right to interfere?—Witness: You have no right to do it in such a way as to create a disturbance.

Do you mean to tell us that a mere interjection of a harmless statement by Mr. Hawkins was unlawful?—I don't quite follow the question.

Is the interjection of a perfectly innocent and unobjectionable statement an unlawful disturbance?—The interjection of an innocent statement might not cause a disturbance and might not be improper; but I consider this was not an innocent statement.

Re-examined by Mr. Waugh: People when interrupting in an inoffensive way did not usually stand up for the purpose.

Were the interjections relevant to the subject matter of the speech?—No.

What observation did Mr. Rutter make?—In reply to the question, "What can we do?" he called out: "Give votes to women."

His Lordship: Why was that not relevant?

The Witness: It had nothing to do with the House of Lords.

His Lordship: One of the things that could be done was to give votes to women?—It was intended for an advertisement.

His Lordship: The fact that you get an answer you don't like or don't want does not necessarily make it irrelevant.

James Leonard Oxley, one of the stewards, said he and his fellow-stewards received no instructions. A gentleman whom he saw come out of the stalls struck at the plaintiff out in the corridor.

Norman McLean Myott, solicitor, of Piccadilly, London, said Mr. Hawkins shouted his remarks in a way which he considered offensive to the Minister who was speaking.

Cross-examined by Mr. Atkinson: Did the plaintiff simply say, "What you say applies equally to the women who are demanding votes?"

Witness: Yes.

Nothing very violent in that, is there?—It was the way in which he said it.

Perhaps he wanted to be heard?—No doubt he did.

Is it your idea that a public speaker is not to be criticised in the course of his speech?—Certainly; he is there to be heard by the audience.

The audience may not take the same view?—Then they should not have got tickets, or they should keep quiet.

His Lordship: This appears to be a counsel of perfection as to the way in which political meetings should be conducted in the future. It is not in accordance with the accounts of political meetings which appear in the newspapers. (Laughter.)

The Witness: This is a special case of Cabinet Ministers. They have a special practice.

Mr. Atkinson: Have you ever heard of Radicals interfering with Tory meetings?

The Witness: Many a time, and getting thrown out.

The "Good Samaritan."

Mr. F. H. Bentham, one of the stewards, said that when the plaintiff fell on the stairs he went forward and took the place of the steward who had hold of Mr. Hawkins's right arm. He then helped to take him from the building. A lady outside had called him a big, burly brute. (The witness was a slender youth.)

The Judge: You never felt so flattered in your life, I suppose.

Cross-examined by Mr. Atkinson: You didn't touch him at all until after he had broken his knee-cap?

Witness: No.

Someone had hold of his coat-collar at the back?—Yes.

Who was that?—I don't know his name. You came and helped him, like a good

Samaritan, and deposited him outside?—Yes.

That describes what you did?—Yes.

Like a good Samaritan?—Yes.

Not like a big, burly brute? (Laughter.)

Did the two men who fell fall on the top of the plaintiff?—Yes.

Did someone call out, "Throw him down"?—I didn't hear anyone do so.

Did you know his leg was broken?—I didn't really think his leg was injured, or I would not have left him where I did.

Did you ask him?—No.

Why not?—I did not think it was necessary.

What reason had you to disbelieve him?—I had no reason.

What was there to support him outside, if his leg was injured?—There were all his friends there.

His Lordship: In what position did you leave him?

Witness: He was leaning against the wall.

Mr. Atkinson: Was he standing on one leg leaning against the wall?—Yes.

And there you left him?—Yes.

No expression of regret at his injury?—No.

And yet you complain of being called a big, burly brute?—I never complained about it.

Detective Mathew Gale, who was on duty in the entrance hall, described what he saw on the staircase. In his opinion the plaintiff fell, and was not pushed from behind. In cross-examination he admitted that Mr. Hawkins was being taken out "almost at a run." A policeman would have brought him down more slowly.

Mr. George Muff, the leading defendant, admitted in cross-examination that as a matter of common sense it would be the duty of the stewards to quiet any disturbance.

Mr. Waugh, K.C., addressing the jury for the defence, contended that if a man got turned out of a meeting under the circumstances described he only got what he asked for and deserved, and unless some unnecessary violence was used he ought not to obtain damages because an accident happened during the time he was being turned out.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., addressing the jury for the plaintiff, said there was nothing to contradict the suggestion he made that if the proper course had been taken by the stewards the plaintiff would have acted upon the intimation and walked quietly out of the meeting. There was no evidence worthy of the name to suggest that what the plaintiff did interfered with or frustrated the object of the meeting. It would be rather a strong thing to suggest that in the course of a speech by a Cabinet Minister, who received his salary from the taxes of the country, not a word had to be said. At a public meeting there might easily be someone who did not agree with all the opinions expressed. Counsel did not suggest that the members of the Bradford branch of the League of Young Liberals were young savages, but that they lost their heads.

JUDGE SUMS UP.

Mr. Justice Avory, in summing up, told the jury there was only one real question of fact in dispute which he was going to ask them to determine in order that he might decide the rights of the plaintiff according to law. For the purpose of preventing the parties being put to the possible expense of another trial, he proposed to ask them a certain number of questions, which, in his opinion, could only be answered in one way, but which he desired to have answered in order that the parties might be in a position hereafter to discuss any question of law which they thought arose. The question was whether the stewards, who were authorised by the defendants—the Committee of the League—either expressly or impliedly—and by "impliedly" he meant from the nature of their employment—to suppress disturbances or interruptions which might take place at the meeting. In his opinion the answer to that question determined the case, because he had no hesitation in saying, as a matter of law, that if the stewards were authorised, either expressly or impliedly, to suppress disturbances or interruptions, and any of them, although he did it in the exercise of his own individual discretion, seized a man and ejected him, without having any lawful right to do so, then his employers were liable in damages for the consequences. The plaintiff had undoubtedly a ticket, and there was no suggestion that he had obtained it by fraud, so that the plaintiff was lawfully there at the time. In his (his Lordship's) view—and perhaps fortunately so, at all events—it was not necessary either that he or the jury should decide whether a person had what had been called the right to interrupt a speaker at a meeting of this kind, because he was quite clear that a mere interruption such as had been proved in this case did not authorise either the chairman of a meeting or the steward, or anybody else, summarily to eject that person from the meeting without any previous request to him to go. Until he had been requested to leave, and his license to be there determined, any person who laid hands upon him and turned him out was in law committing an assault.

Interjections Not Illegal.

There is really no dispute, his Lordship continued, as to what took place. At a certain passage in the speech of the Home Secretary, when he was referring to the question about the House of Lords as having now reached its final stage, the plaintiff said, no doubt standing up in order to say it—in that respect you may think showing himself much more honest and honourable than the gentleman in the gallery who called somebody a liar and managed so to conceal himself that nobody discovered who it was. Here the plaintiff at all events had the courage of his opinions, and was not afraid of disclosing his individuality. He stood up and said, "What you say applies equally to the women who are demanding the Vote." It may have been, and you may think it was, rudeness on the part of the plaintiff, and some of the witnesses who have been called have even gone so far as to say that if a Cabinet Minister is addressing a political meeting nobody has a right to say a word or to interrupt him by asking any question at all.

So far as I know there is no authority for that to be found in any treatise on constitutional law that I have ever read. It may be that it is not polite, but that does not, as I have said, justify an assault. It might justify the determination of the plaintiff's licence to remain there, and might justify a request to him to leave. Upon his saying that, there is again no dispute as to what took place. He was immediately seized. Mr. Midgley has been called, who was not a steward, and tells you that he was in fact the first person who seized him. That appears to me to be not very material, because both sides are agreed that within a moment or two the stewards, to the number of three or four or five or six, whatever it may have been, took hold of the plaintiff and proceeded to remove him from this building. It is quite immaterial whether it was Mr. Midgley, who was not a steward, who first laid hands upon him. Mr. Midgley's own account of it is that there were stewards behind him pressing him forward, and that his only way out of the difficult situation was to seize the plaintiff himself. I do not know whether you will accept that or not; whether it might not have been quite as easy for Mr. Midgley to stop aside and let the stewards seize the plaintiff instead of seizing him himself. That was his account of what he did; and he used another expression which certainly may not commend itself to you: that he only took hold of him by the collar in order to enable him to go out quietly. (Laughter.) Mr. Midgley seized him, and the stewards immediately, according to their own admissions, took hold of him, and, to use a popular expression, they ran him out of that hall. They ran him along the corridor to the steps, and on the steps there is no doubt the plaintiff fell; and apparently the preponderance of evidence goes to show that he fell upon the landing and injured his knee, and that after his knee was injured he was carried or run down the rest of the steps and put out of the front door. I shall have a word presently to say about that fall upon the question of damages, and I pass it by merely to show you that there is apparently no dispute that it was the stewards who were in fact responsible for the removal by force of the plaintiff from that building.

The Responsibility of the Committee.

Gentlemen, you have to say: Were these stewards who did this authorised by the defendants, or any of them, to suppress any disturbance or interruption that took place? Can there be any doubt that this committee contemplated, and, in fact, knew, as part of the arrangements for this meeting, that a number of stewards would be appointed? You know that in fact the first step that was taken was to appoint them. You have had the letter sent by the secretary of this league to the members containing the words:— "For the evening demonstration we shall require a large number of stewards. . . . I hope that every member will volunteer his services as steward." Then the stewards were appointed, and a chief steward was appointed whose name is Town, who was called before you. . . . Now you have to ask yourselves: for what purpose were the stewards appointed? what duty did the committee contemplate the stewards would perform when they were appointed. And you may judge of that from looking at the duties which the stewards in fact did perform, and apparently perform as a matter of course. . . . If it be true as suggested on behalf of the defendants that the only duties which these stewards had to perform was to show people to their seats and distribute what are called the hymn sheets or song sheets, why did they all go apparently and take up their positions in the gangways after all that was done? And what is more significant is this: that upon the uncontradicted evidence in this case, whenever there was an interruption by any person at that meeting who made any reference whatever to the question of women's votes or women's suffrage he was immediately ejected by the stewards. How came that about unless it was understood to be part of the duty of the stewards at that meeting to eject anybody who made a disturbance or interruption? How comes it that all the stewards appeared to be of the same mind whenever anybody said anything about women's suffrage or women's votes? Was it, as has been put, a mere coincidence that the stewards in this place where the plaintiff sat and the stewards in the place where every other man sat who made any interruption about women's suffrage all happened to be of the same mind, that that man must be ejected at once? Or does it not show, and you must ask yourselves, that it was the understood duty of the stewards to eject any persons who made any interruption, and particularly perhaps that kind of interruption relating to that particular subject? For the purpose formally, merely for the purpose of having a complete answer to every question that arises, I shall ask you to say whether the stewards in fact or any of them ejected the plaintiff here by violence from that hall. But there is really no dispute about it; that they did so is not disputed; that they did eject him. The only thing that is disputed is the amount of his resistance. One at least of the witnesses for the defendants has said that he went quietly. There was another gentleman, I think his name was Watson, who was called by the plaintiff, a perfectly independent gentleman apparently, a solicitor, who happened to be present somewhere near the spot, and said distinctly that the plaintiff went quietly; did not offer any resistance at all.

The Question of Conspiracy.

Now come the two points which have been made on behalf of the defendants, and although, in my opinion (I tell you plainly), there is no evidence in support of either of them, I will ask you just to answer these questions which have been raised here on these pleadings, namely—Was there any conspiracy between the plaintiff and Rutter, or any other person, to create a riot and unlawfully to disturb this meeting? I say that in my opinion there is absolutely no evidence of it at all—of any conspiracy between the plaintiff and Rutter and the other persons named to create a riot or anything of the kind. Further, it is suggested that under a recent Act of Parliament the plaintiff might have been committing an offence if he was doing anything at that meeting for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called together. I will ask you formally to answer that, whether the plaintiff did any-

thing. Mark you, not did he do anything which might interrupt the meeting, but did he do anything for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called?

Finally comes the question of damages, which I must ask you to assess. Here there are two views of the case from which you must consider the question. The plaintiff says that he not only was forcibly turned out, but that his knee was injured by the violence of those persons who were assaulting him. And if the injury to his knee was caused by the violence of those people who were assaulting him, and the defendants are responsible for it, then they will be responsible for the injury to his knee, and you must say what damages the plaintiff is entitled to, having regard to the injury and the length of time that he will be before he recovers from it. In determining that question you have merely to decide: Was this injury to the plaintiff's knee caused by the violence or assault of these stewards or any of them. It is suggested upon the other side that while the stewards were conducting him quietly and with no more force than was necessary, some other persons who were not stewards came behind and gave him a violent push and pushed him down the stairs, and so injured his knee. If that were so, if that were established by the evidence, if that was the independent act of some person who was not a steward, then the stewards would not be responsible for it, and the defendants would not be responsible for it in my opinion. The defendants' own witnesses, who have been called here to-day, who were actually conducting the plaintiff out and conducting him down the steps at the time when this happened, do not say that any person rushed up behind and pushed him. The evidence of Mr. Bentham, the defendants' own witness, is that it was not anyone coming up behind independently and giving him a push, but he says that it was the plaintiff's own stumbling. Now if a man is being unlawfully ejected from a building, if he is being run down the steps, to use the detective's expression, run out and run down the steps, and he stumbles in consequence of the way he is being pushed along—he stumbles and falls and injures his knee, then, of course, the people who are pushing him along are responsible for it. Never mind whether they actually pushed him down or whether in consequence of their pushing him along he stumbled on the steps and fell. They would be equally responsible. But I will ask you to assess the damages. If you should find the stewards were not responsible for his falling down, then say what damages the plaintiff ought to have for the assault which was committed without the injury to his knee. If you find the injury to his knee was part of the assault and occasioned by the violence of the stewards, then say what is the total sum which you think the plaintiff is entitled to, having regard to any expense that he has been put to, having regard to the pain and suffering which he has endured up to the present time, and to the pain and suffering which he will endure for some time to come, and to the loss of his wages, which he tells you have averaged about £2 per week—that is, the average earnings of £2 a week since November 26 last, which he says he has lost.

THE FINDING OF THE JURY.

The jury, after they had been absent a considerable time, returned to say that they had agreed on some of the questions put to them, and had not agreed on others. At the request of the judge the jury again retired, and after they had been absent nearly two hours altogether they returned and announced their answers to the questions and their verdict of £100 damages for the plaintiff. His Lordship, at the request of Mr. R. S. Deans, read the questions which had been submitted to the jury, together with their replies. They were:—

1. Were the stewards authorised by the defendants, or any of them, either expressly or impliedly, to suppress disturbance or interruptions at the meeting?—Yes.
2. Were they authorised by the defendants, or any of them, either expressly or impliedly, to eject persons making a disturbance or interruptions?—Yes, impliedly.
3. Did the stewards, or any of them, eject the plaintiff by force?—Yes.
4. Did they use more violence than was necessary?—No.
5. Was there any conspiracy between plaintiff and Rutter or other persons to create a riot and unlawfully to disturb the meeting?—No evidence of conspiracy to create a riot, but evidence that each person ejected went with the intention of disturbing the meeting.
6. Did the plaintiff do anything for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called?—No.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson asked for judgment for the plaintiff.

Mr. Deans formally applied for judgment for the defendants on the jury's finding that not more force was used than was necessary in ejecting the plaintiff.

His Lordship: But if there was no right to remove him at all—?

Mr. Deans observed that the jury had not decided that question.

His Lordship: Would you prefer Mr. Waugh to say anything about it in the morning?

Mr. Deans: That would be preferable.

His Lordship: I will give him the opportunity. But in my view it is immaterial, because, as a matter of law, my opinion is they had no right to remove him at all. The question of unnecessary violence, therefore, does not arise.

Mr. Atkinson: Your Lordship will hear Mr. Waugh to-morrow?

Mr. Justice Avey: I will reserve judgment until to-morrow morning.

On the following morning, after Mr. Waugh had asked for a stay of judgment, Mr. Tindal Atkinson asked that the £100 be brought into court and the taxed costs paid over.

Mr. Waugh: Within what time?

Mr. Justice Avey: Within fourteen days; notice of appeal to be given within ten days. If notice of appeal is given, then the stay to continue till the appeal.

Mr. Waugh: On payment of the £100 into court and the taxed costs being paid on the solicitor's usual undertaking?

Mr. Justice Avey: Yes.

DEFENCE OF THE BILL.

By Sir Geo. Kemp, M.P., and Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P.

We referred last week briefly to the drawing-room meeting which was held at the house of Lady Brassey on Wednesday afternoon shortly before we went to press. We are glad to be able to give our readers this week a fuller account of the important speeches delivered on that occasion by Sir George Kemp, M.P., who has charge of the Bill in the House of Commons, and by Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., the leader of the Welsh party, who has proved himself such a staunch friend of the movement.

Sir Geo. Kemp commenced with a reference to the character of the Bill, and defended the extension of the vote to women householders. These women, having the care and management of their houses, were, in his view, brought face to face with the same problems in miniature with which a Government was confronted. He believed that most of those present would agree that women who were the heads of households ought to have the vote, but some of them were afraid that their enfranchisement would only be the thin end of the wedge and would lead to universal suffrage. In reply to that he could only say that, speaking for himself, he was most strongly opposed to manhood and womanhood suffrage. He was opposed to it because the level of education throughout the country was not on one universal plane. He was anxious that the voters should be qualified to vote and should be educated. He did not want to decrease the standard of intelligence of the voter, but to increase it, and that was the very reason why he supported this Bill. Many arguments had been brought forward against this Bill. For instance, there were some who urged that the Bill was too democratic, and others who urged that it was too undemocratic. In nearly all the arguments brought forward against the Bill he felt there was a lack of sincerity. Of course, he knew there were a number of people who were opposed to it, and who said what their reasons were; but he knew that many members of the House of Commons dealt insincerely with the Bill. There were members who voted for the second reading of the Bill last year because they thought that there was no chance of its passing. What he wanted to see was sincerity, both from those people who supported it and also from opponents in stating their grounds of opposition.

Wanted Women to be Slaves.

"We do not," continued Sir Geo. Kemp, "have that at the present time. If I may go into a personal detail, I had the good fortune last night to be at a very pleasant supper, and all there stated that they were opposed to granting the suffrage to women, and one man was sincere enough to say why he did not want it. He said, 'I do not want it because, frankly, I should like all women to be slaves.' (Laughter.) He is a very celebrated man. All of you know him by sight. But wild horses won't drag from me his name."

"I mention this because I believe this single remark explains most of the opposition to the Bill. Many men do not wish women to be on an equality with them. I believe they think that if women were on an equality with them in this matter of the vote that in some mysterious way they would lose all their charm of sex. And, strangely enough, I believe the women who oppose giving the franchise to women also think that they would lose the attractiveness to men in the same mysterious way. They do not like the idea that all women should be put on the same equality with themselves. I think they rely, if I may say so without offence, too much on their own individual attractiveness, so that they fail to appreciate the importance of equality to the rest of their sex. They would prefer, many of them, to stand their chance of rising above the rest of their sex and feeling that they are superior to the rest of their sex, than be put on an equality with other women."

Many men say that they oppose giving the franchise to women because they think women would be given over to too much sentimentality. Personally, I believe that we men are more sentimental than women. But I think there is much more sentimentality about the opposition to enfranchising women than there would be in giving them the vote.

Women do everything with regard to political life that men do, with the exception of actually putting the mark upon the voting paper. They speak, they take people about in motors to the poll—a most unwomanly thing—they drive them themselves to the poll, and we hear, too, that they unduly influence elections. They do everything which a man may do—and, I venture to think, much more effectively—except putting their mark on the voting paper. That is the one thing that is going to make them less attractive and degrade them in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen! The thing only needs to be stated, I think, to show how absurd it is.

"I am very anxious that women should have the vote now in this crisis of the country, when we do not know what is before us. We always turn to women in all the great crises of our lives, and I certainly think we ought to have the benefit of their co-operation in this crisis of the nation's affairs. We have been promised facilities before this Government goes out of office. We have been promised facilities for the further stages of the Bill. I hope those facilities may be given at a very early period. I believe that it will be greatly to the advantage, not only of women's interests, but to the advantage of the country, age, and of the Empire too, that they should join in our councils at the earliest possible period."

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH.

Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., in his opening remarks alluded to the arguments which were sometimes brought forward against giving the

vote to women. There was, for instance, the chivalry argument; but whatever chivalry was, it could, in his opinion, never be a substitute for justice. It was better sometimes to forget to open the door for a lady as she left the drawing-room than to make no effort to open the door for her as she went into her kingdom of emancipation. Then there was the Oriental view, like that taken by the gentleman to whom Sir George Kemp referred, that all women ought to be slaves—entirely, of course, in the interests of the women, because it made them so much more charming to others, and, of course, as long as they were charming to others they had answered the great end of their existence! That also might be put aside. Then there was the view taken by those who said that woman's proper place was the home. That was an ideal place for women to be in, and it had been their place, he supposed, at some remote period in this country that no one could remember or that no one would confess that he or she could remember. But it must not be forgotten that every morning in this country five million women went out of their home in order to keep their home. They had to earn their own living. That happened to be a very big question that every man who was sincere must eventually consider. The moment a woman earned her own living it was idle to talk about her sphere being the home and the home alone. Then society had not only allowed women to go out of the home, to live their own lives, but it had educated them. Slaves ought not to be educated. They ought to be kept in darkness and subjection. The moment a class began to be educated then it must in the long run—and the run is not very long—be also emancipated. If men had wanted to keep women in subjection, then they ought to have kept them in ignorance. About the proposed enfranchisement of women it was said, "You are enfranchising a new class." That was certainly true; but it was not a new class in the sense that the classes who were enfranchised in 1832, 1867, and 1884 were new, because whereas those classes had had no previous experience of political power, women had now for about thirty years exercised the municipal vote. If there was anything degrading in putting your cross on a municipal paper, women had been degraded for a whole generation!

Mr. Ellis Griffith then referred to the resolutions which had been carried in November last by the Australian Senate and the Australian House of Representatives in favour of Woman Suffrage. These had been cabled to Mr. Asquith by the express desire of these two Houses of the Australian Commonwealth.

Dealing with the Conciliation Bill, he said that it was a compromise, and as such could be attacked on the ground that it went too far on that it did not go far enough; but it was a sound Bill and a democratic Bill, and the proof of this lay in the fact that four-fifths of the new voters would belong to what was commonly called the working class. After dealing with the prospects of the Bill in the Commons and the Lords, Mr. Ellis Griffith said that it would be a futile thing not to recognise that the question was much nearer settlement to-day than it had even been before. He had heard it suggested that the militant methods had done something to prevent the movement from being a success. He profoundly differed from that point of view. In his opinion, militant methods had done more than anything else to make this a live and a living question.

The Conciliation Bill.

"I happened this morning," concluded the speaker, "to see a few of the women who took part in the action on November 13 and November 22 last. There were complaints, as you know, about the violence of the police on that occasion. I will be perfectly frank. Those who take part in demonstrations are taking the risks of demonstrators, and if they use violence they must expect violence in return, but that does not mean that there should be an excess of violence by those who are responsible for the good government of this great city, and I am of opinion that the facts which have come to light concerning those demonstrations are amply sufficient to justify an inquiry into the whole incident. For my own part, I have only reverence and admiration for those women who have undergone humiliation and degradation and ill-usage in the support of a great cause and a great ideal, and I believe that this struggle will not have been in vain, because not only will it be the means of obtaining legislation, but it will qualify them by what they have gone through to exercise the Suffrage when it comes. When the reward is given I think a great part of it will be due to those women who have set aside all personal considerations and all personal comforts in order to sacrifice their lives on the altar of what they believe and what I believe to be a great, a just, and a winning cause."

DRAWING-ROOM MEETING.

Through the kindness of Commander and Mrs. Dugdale a most successful drawing-room meeting was held at 13, Stanhope Place, on Monday afternoon, March 20. The meeting, which was given in connection with the municipal canvass organised by the Paddington and Marylebone Local Union, was attended by a large and influential audience, among whom were the following:—Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Lady Walsingham, Lady Bunsford, Lady Nina Ogilvie-Grant, Lady Blenheim, Lady Florence Burke, the Hon. Gladys Adderley, the Hon. Mrs. Barras-Whitehead, the Hon. May Hamilton, the Hon. Mrs. Walker Forbes, Mrs. Riviere, Mrs. Widdington-Stafford, Mrs. Rhufen-Guest, and others. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield was the speaker, and Miss Georgina Brackenbury explained the census protest and answered many questions. Miss Decima Moore added greatly to the enjoyment of the meeting by her charming recitation, "Women This and Woman That." Miss Una Dugdale was in the chair. A number of the ladies present confessed at the conclusion of the meeting that though they had been "anti" when they entered the room, they were entirely convinced by Mrs. Haverfield's inspiring speech, and many of them were present at the Albert Hall meeting on the following Thursday.

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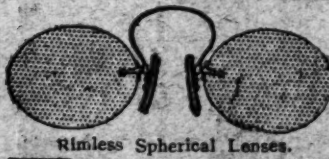


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"THE PRISONER."

An Experience of Forcible Feeding.

The terrible experiences endured by women who are struggling for their political liberty, as a result of the hunger strike in prison, have never yet been told to the world. Just as soldiers who have been through a campaign cannot be induced to tell of the sights they have witnessed and the privations they have endured upon the battlefield, so those who have lived through scenes of daily torture in prison, whether for a few weeks or, like Miss Marsh, for three long months, have shrunk from the thought and memory of that agony of forcible feeding, and have kept the story of its revolting details to themselves. No doubt, their instinct is a right one. There are some subjects that are only fit for treatment at the hands of the artist, who, by selecting the essential and discarding the non-essential, is able to subordinate all that is personal to that which is of universal significance.

At last there has been added to the literature of the movement a book which affords a glimpse into that abyss of suffering whose depths have been veiled hitherto from the eyes of the world. "The Prisoner" is a true picture, painted by a real artist. The author is one who suffered in her own person, both from starvation and the subsequent horrible cruelty of forcible feeding. Yet if it were not for the preface, which was no part of the original scheme, but was written under the pressure of persuasion after the book was finished, many readers of the story would never have realised that it was one drawn from personal experience. We venture to think that this short preface wrung from the author, with a weary protest against the intrusion of personal details, will prove not the least valuable part of the whole, throwing light as it does on the subsequent pages. We can almost hear the sigh with which the following paragraph is penned:—

So it seems that in this sketch I have left out details; but if so, it is in the effort to paint a certain picture, and I have used my power of selection with the distinct object of reproducing the atmosphere which surrounds the suffragette prisoner, especially when she is undergoing the last extreme of resistance and its attendant torture of forcible feeding. But these details I realise are necessary; they are the effect of what has passed, the cause of what is to come; and if I have made them too obscure for a public who suffers from a stringent Press boycott on this subject, I will endeavour to remove the cloud, although I have no wish personally to lift the obscurity that I hoped would envelop the author.

This sketch of a prisoner is an absolutely true statement of my own imprisonment of one month in October and November, 1909, in Stangeways Prison, Manchester.

There follows in a few words the story of the facts that led to the imprisonment, the conditions in prison that led to the adoption of the hunger-strike and a literal description of the three methods of forcible feeding used upon the person of the writer.

By our refusal to take prison food we were reduced in two or three days to a state of starvation. When we were so weak as to make it dangerous to put off the operation longer, the doctors, after slight and cursory examination, gave the order for forcible feeding, each of the three methods being in my case tried on succeeding days, not, as the humane Liberal Government maintained, to keep me alive, but evidently to try which torture would intimidate me.

In a few sentences these three methods are described. The first was to screw the mouth open with a gag, when the victim had been overpowered by seven persons, to close forcibly the nostrils, and to push food down the throat of the suffocating, choking, gasping prisoner, an operation which lasted for twenty minutes.

The second method (tried the subsequent day) was the nasal tube, through which, when the prisoner had been pinned down, a large quantity of cold liquid was poured. The next day a still worse torture was put into operation by means of the abdominal tube. This treatment, described in one short sentence, is a sickening revelation, and the brief preface ends with the following paragraph, which will be recalled with amazement in years to come, when it is embodied in the history of this movement for human emancipation:—

And these tortures were allowed in English prisons, under a Liberal Government in 1909, in answer to an acknowledged just demand of women for a voice in making the law that shall govern them and their children . . . and more especially a demand made by women taxpayers to have a voice in the spending of their money, of whom I am one, and have been for many years.

To those whose imagination needs to be quickened, the introduction from which the above quotations have been taken will serve as the description in the catalogue serves the uninitiated who enter a picture gallery. It will serve to arrest the attention. The picture itself must do all the rest. I believe this book will touch many a heart hitherto unmoved by the inspiration that has made heroes out of women used to luxury and pleasure. I know that it will be treasured as a precious

"The Prisoner." An Experience of Forcible Feeding. By a Suffragette. Price 1s. net. (The Garden City Press.) On sale at The Women's Press, 155, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

possession by all who have received the revelation of that great love by which a woman lays down her life for the wronged and oppressed of her sex.

Since it was written men have given proof that the flame of martyrdom for justice and for liberty has been kindled in their hearts also. One man was released a few days since, having endured the test of forcible feeding. And at the present time upon another man this barbarity is being practised twice every day. This fact gives a new significance to the publication of "The Prisoner," which should be placed as speedily as possible in the hands of responsible men and women throughout the country.

E. P. L.

A PARALLEL.

They destroyed their property [banners, &c.], outraged their persons, threatened their lives, and robbed them of the right of assemblage. Upon the authorities, the Government, rests the duty of setting in motion the criminal machinery of the law to redress the wrong done, not only to the few who were attacked, but to the whole body of the people. The very existence of a Government is a pledge that this will be done. . . . If the Government refuses to protect its citizens it tells them to protect themselves. It sets back the spirit of the age hundreds of years, and compels its citizens to return again to private war and personal vengeance. No free people ever submitted to such things and remained free.

The quotation above is not from an account of the women's deputations of last November, although it goes on:—

To one Magna Charta torn in pieces.
To one Bill of Rights torn in pieces.
To Breach of the Peace by the Officers of the Peace.
The bill has not been settled. There is one way, and only one, this bill can be paid. Not by money; only by justice, and it must be paid.

On November 12, 1891, a peaceful assembly of trade unionists was broken up by the Chicago police. On the following December 27 a mass meeting was held to protest against this interference with the right of free speech and assemblage. One of the speakers was Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the quotations are from his fine speech, now published in a volume of essays, under the title, "Maximal, and other Essays." (Putnam, price 6s. net.) To Suffragists this essay on "Free Speech and Assemblage" has a special value, and they will appreciate this remark about the men injured by the police:—

They have made sacrifice of their property, even of their bodily rights, to realise a humanity moved by peace and goodwill. The Government that denies their prayer for the protection that will make practicable the life they seek to lead of non-resistance and of love of man for man assumes an awful responsibility.

A SUFFRAGE SYMPOSIUM.

Our readers will remember the symposium on Woman Suffrage that appeared recently in the *New Age*. They will be glad to know that these opinions of well-known men and women are now issued in book form, under the title "Women's Suffrage and Militancy," and can be had from Frank Palmer, 12-14, Red Lion Court, E.C. Price 6d.

CONTRASTS.

Anti-Suffragists and Suffragists alike will agree that "Contrasts—Forms of Poverty," by W. B. Northrop (Frank Palmer, price 6d.), is interesting but sad reading, its illustrations alone reminding one of the great evils that exist in our midst, showing, as they do, the sweated woman chain-maker at her work, men sleeping in doss-houses, and women and children in "floor-bunks." One agrees with the author when he says:—
Who dares cry "Peace" amidst this hell?
Who rests content while others die?
Who dares say "Hush! for all is well?"
Base soulless hypocrites—they lie!

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"A Bed of Roses." By W. L. George. London: Frank Palmer. 6s.
"Nina." By Rosaline Masson. London: Macmillan and Co. 6s.
"Woman at Home." April. London: Geo. Newnes. 4d. net.



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A CAUSERIE OF FASHION.

Spring is here, whatever the thermometer may assert to the contrary, for the little birds are twittering of love and housekeeping, the little green buds are pushing off their winter overcoats, the house painter, with his fearsome pots and ladders, has arrived, and so also has the first budget of Madame La Mode's commands.

Well, the question of the moment—the modistie moment I mean, of course—is naturally the *jupe culotte*. You may study it at any dress atelier, you may meet it not only in Paris, but also in the Park. To decry it is unsafe, for your dearest friend, fortified by Mr. Harry Furness and the *Times*, has probably ordered a couple "just to try." Models of it (or should one say "them"?) vary immensely. Some wear the innocent air of an attenuated skirt, others give a welcome freedom of motion with an equalising loss of grace. Frankly, I refuse to prophesy concerning the *jupe culotte*. For the moment it is "on the knees of the gods"—who knows whether or no it will descend to ours!

As to the *jupe* itself, those who foretold the early demise of the straight skirt were no true prophets. The "hobble," of course, is as dead as the proverbial door-nail, but its straight, stride-wide sister will outlive this season with little change, even as to its draperies. These are still of the shawl and tunic variety, but their materials—*eh bien, nous avons changé tout cela!* Last year we were plain, to-day we are patterned—often enough in tinsel and velvet. Such exquisite designs, too; early English looms, Beauvais tapestries, and Doges' palaces—all have contributed to our adorning. The Venetian inspirations are especially lovely. As I write an example to which I curtailed low at Debenham and Freebody's—where, of course, one always sees things particularly *chic et ravissant*—occurs to me. Picture a gown of mysterious beetle's wing hint green *charmeuse*, draped with the new tinsel brocaded *ninon* of shot green and copper, with the design in dull gold, the draperies being enhanced by a wonderful *dentelle broderie* of copper, gold, silver, emerald green, and vivid blue.

Mais courage, Mesdemoiselles! if counsels of perfection *de l'uxe* are unattainable by all; this same *chic* Wigmore Street establishment has catered most successfully for you also. For instance, I saw a delightfully dainty and smart gown carried out in fancy figured *ninon*—Fragonat blue on a cream ground, combined with plain *ninon* and clever accentuations of black velvet for but 5½ guineas, while for one guinea more an exquisite *cachemire de soie*, garnished with shawl pattern *en suite*, and boasting the new high sash encrusted with dull silver *soutache*, is yours.

Propos of sashes, the waist line this season can be either high or low, but the picturesqueness which is *de rigueur* is best served by the high line, and even the new leather "dog collar" belts encroach upwards.

Regarding sleeves, Madame La Mode is again sensibly catholic; they may be long or short, "bell" or plain or puffed *à la moyen age*. On the whole they are fuller than last year, and, alas! our dear "kimono" sleeve has serious rivals.

As to hats—and I should have commenced my *causerie* with them, for a new hat lends the kindest aid to a winter gown while the new spring toilette is being obtained—they are distinctly higher both in crown and trimming, though the low wide, picture hat—and *bien entendu*, this should not now obscure the hair—still holds its own. However, styles are so various that I cannot do better than recommend a visit to Derry and Toms, where one can comfortably study all the new modes, from luxurious Paris creations to simply smart and dainty *chapeaux* at 18s. 9d. and 12s. 9d. Naturally, these convenient sums will not purchase the floating feathers and exclusive models of the French section, but they will possess you of thoroughly smart headgear of wonderful quality, perfect style, and all the new ideas exemplified.

In conjunction with a new hat, a tailor-made is naturally one of the first and most essential investments with which to greet an English spring. Well, this year's coats at any rate are totally different to last year's. It is not alone that they are shorter, the line is altogether altered; it is much squarer, and alas! for those who cannot compass the fashionable figure, much less becoming. *Eh bien!* short squarish coats and short tightish skirts may be *chic* and convenient, but they do not make for distinction. Nevertheless, much can be done by clever manipulation. I am thinking of some examples of the costume *trotteur* that I saw in the Haymarket at John Simmons and Son's. Some were of the indispensable and ubiquitous blue serge, black braided, but a certain something (even apart from clever touches of colour, such as a dash of Empire pink cloth on the distinctively cut revers) which this firm boasts as to cut and style brought about the miracle. The new floating skirt panel back and front is helpful. Some coats have large sailor collars, some round hood-like ones, and some actual hoods lined *en suite* and heavily tasselled. Thick cords, as garnishings, are also being introduced into the sartorial world.

Long and evening coats, like our skirts, retain the straight line; their embellishments out-Herod Herod, and their colours are quite Oriental in vividness. Imagine an opera cloak of rich canary *charmeuse*, garnished with bands of heavy silver *soutache*, through whose interstices a lining of deep turquoise blue gleamed, the whole being contrasted by a picture collar of *velours noir*. This *modèle de l'uxe à la mode* is to be seen at Peter Robinson's Oxford Street House, with many another of the same alluring calibre. Here, too, one may encounter that delightfully convenient *dernier cri*, the reversible opera coat. Yes, it actually reverses, being equally perfectly finished on both sides. You possess a black *charmeuse* coat, lined with pale pastel blue cloth, that shows charmingly within the big hood that melts into wrap-over revers, and on the wide cuffs; hey, presto! you have a pale blue coat, smartly lined, hooded, and cuffed in black. The advantages are obvious when motors fall us and we perforce take to trains and taxis, or wish to suit particular toilettes, and when I mention that these full length coats in any coloured cloth, combined with thoroughly satisfactory satin, cost but five guineas, the prudent will hesitate no longer.



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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1911.

THE LAW OF PUBLIC MEETING.

Once more it has been proved that Cabinet Ministers, and not the Suffragettes, are the real law-breakers. The questions which for the past six years members of this union have asked at Liberal meetings have been declared in a court of law to be legitimate, while the violent attacks made by the stewards upon men and women Suffragists at these meetings have been declared to be unlawful. The action successfully brought by Mr. Hawkins against the Bradford League of Young Liberals has had the result of putting us in possession of a clear, judicial statement of the law concerning interruptions at public meetings. Mr. Justice Avory, the judge in this case, has laid it down that a mere intervention such as that made by Mr. Hawkins does not authorise either the chairman of a meeting, or the stewards, or anybody else summarily to eject a person from a meeting without any previous request to him to go, and that until he has been requested to leave, the person who lays hands upon him and turns him out of the meeting is, in law, committing an assault.

Dealing with the suggestion so frequently advanced by Liberal partisans, that a Cabinet Minister is an especially favoured individual, and ought to be more immune from interruption than ordinary speakers, the judge observed that "there is no authority for such a statement to be found in any treatise on Constitutional law," and added that an interruption of the kind in question, even if the speaker be a Cabinet Minister, does not justify an assault.

The interjection which the Liberal stewards at Mr. Winston Churchill's Bradford meeting made the pretext for attacking Mr. Hawkins with such force that his leg was broken, was certainly of a most reasonable character, and is typical of the interjections which Suffragists, both men and women, are in the habit of making at Cabinet Ministers' meetings. Mr. Churchill, in the course of his speech, referring to the question of the House of Lords, said: "The quarrel, often threatened, often averted, and often delayed, but always inevitable, has at last reached the final stage." Mr. Hawkins then interjected, "What you say applies equally to the women who are demanding votes." Just before this, a man in the hall had interrupted the proceedings by shouting "Liar!" and no notice had been taken of him, but as soon as Mr. Hawkins made his interruption, he was set upon by the stewards and flung out of the meeting. Nothing could have been more appropriate and to the point than his observation. If to utter such words were unlawful, justifying the commission of an assault, then the right of public meeting would be a mere farce, and the law on the subject would call urgently for amendment. Happily the matter has been decided otherwise, and "the Voice," that time-honoured institution in British politics, may still continue its career at public

meetings. The result of the case will give deep and general satisfaction not only because it gives Mr. Hawkins some compensation for a great and undeserved injury, but also because it establishes the right of public meeting on a firm basis.

Even if the policy of putting questions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings had been decided to be in conflict with the strict letter of the law, militant Suffragists would nevertheless have pursued it because we take our stand on higher ground than that. We base this policy upon the moral right to defy laws of inferior obligation when such defiance is necessary for the purpose of compelling obedience to a greater law. But now that the legality of these interruptions has been established, as well as their rightness on the purely moral plane, it is for the Liberal leaders to offer what justification they can for the savage manner in which they have dealt with the Suffragists present at their meetings. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union decided to question Liberal Ministers at public meetings, because these Ministers refused to embody Woman Suffrage in their programme, and deliberately kept the country in ignorance with regard to the matter. At first, questions on votes for women were asked, not in the course of a Minister's speech, but at its close. This forbearance on the part of questioners met with the reward of violent ejection, and their questions remained unanswered. Later on it became customary for Suffragettes to interject their questions at appropriate points in the course of the Minister's speech. As before, they were violently flung out of the meeting. "Conscience makes cowards of us all," and Ministers grew so fearful of hearing the subject of Votes for Women mentioned that the slightest movement on the part of any woman, whether a Suffragist or not, was frequently punished by instant removal from the meeting. At the same time, men who asked questions on other subjects were not molested in any way.

Finding that the questions of women could not be silenced by means of brute force, Cabinet Ministers then decided that women should be shut out of their meetings altogether. As the result of this counter-move on the part of the Government, it seemed that this valuable method of agitation would be no longer available, but, fortunately, a brave band of men then took upon themselves the task of giving voice at Cabinet Ministers' meetings to women's claim to citizenship. Immediately, Ministers gave fresh proof of their detestation of being questioned on this subject, and men Suffragists have been treated with the utmost savagery. In fact, public meetings under Liberal auspices are now public meetings only in name. Hordes of stewards are in attendance, one half of the public—the women—are entirely excluded, and even to men tickets are given out with secrecy and circumspection, while an attempt is made to keep out all men suspected of active sympathy with the Woman Suffrage cause. Those who make even the quietest and most appropriate interjections on this subject are seized and hurled out of the hall.

Liberals will be the first to admit that even if such a state of affairs were lawful, true Liberalism could not live under conditions such as these; but it is not lawful, and in future those who assault members of the public, men or women, who are merely exercising their rights, do so at their peril.

It is interesting, in the light of Mr. Justice Avory's statement of the law, to recall the denunciations hurled by the Liberal Press and Ministers at those men and women who have interrupted at public meetings. We have been condemned as "brawlers," whereas in fact it is those who have assaulted us who have been in the wrong. We have been accused of destroying the right of free speech, whereas in reality our opponents are the enemies of free speech, because they have made the monstrous claim that a Cabinet Minister (who is a public servant, and liable to render to the public an account of his stewardship) has the right to abuse his trust and to do injustice, and then to appear at political meetings, unchallenged and unrebuked.

Undoubtedly, this agitation has placed the Government in a serious difficulty. What they have been slow to realise is that from this difficulty there is only one lawful, creditable, and effectual escape. To batter and maltreat women at Westminster is neither lawful, creditable, nor effectual. To hurl questioners from meetings, to the danger of their life and limb, is neither lawful, creditable, nor effectual; but to admit women to the Franchise by carrying the Conciliation Bill is a policy which has absolutely no disadvantages, and is the only one which can be pursued with dignity and with effect.

Christabel Pankhurst.

OFFICIAL BLACKMAIL.

By Laurence Housman.

Census-resistance has gone ahead; even those who are not joining in it have come to admit that it is going to be a big thing—how big will never publicly be known, for though the resisting householders can be accurately numbered, the evaders whom those householders will shelter for the night, or who will otherwise avoid qualification, will be numberless, and only the Women's Suffrage societies will be able to reckon approximately how many tens of thousands they amount to. For obvious reasons the Societies will not communicate their knowledge to the authorities except on their own terms, and their terms are full facilities for the Conciliation Bill this year.

A proof that the Resistance is already an assured success is to be found in the rising note of disapprobation, mingled with vague threatenings, which now comes from quarters least favourable to the Women's movement. Several organs of the Press which began by making light of the protest have now changed their tone, and are threatening with dire penalties all who take part in it, while at the same time assuring the public that the authorities have unexpected means for bringing the resisters to heel, which will only be sprung upon them at the last moment.

It is likely enough that the Census authorities, presuming upon a general ignorance as to the strict limitation of their legal powers, will do their best to bluff resisters and evaders into submission when the day of Census-taking arrives; for it is still permitted in this country to threaten people with penalties which cannot be enforced without thereby incurring a legal charge of blackmail. It is allowed, for instance, to debt-collectors to hold out threats of arrest and imprisonment which cannot be put into effect, so as to compel payment. And there are signs that the Census authorities are for the present lying low, in order, at the right psychological moment, to bring this form of official pressure to bear on those who are ignorant as to how the law stands. This is probably what a Registrar in the Manchester district means by "a little tact." Suffragists should understand that the true meaning of "a little tact," employed by those who know the law against those who do not know it, is often nothing more or less than official blackmail, and there will no doubt be plenty of official blackmailers abroad on the morning of Monday, April 3. It is necessary, therefore, that all resisters should be armed with knowledge of the exact terms of the Act from which the Census authorities derive their powers.

Legal Limitations.

Not anticipating any general resistance to its provisions, the framers of the Act have omitted in several instances to provide penalties for the refusal of the information it seeks, or to make any but a comparatively small class legally responsible for filling up the schedules or even for giving information. Registrars, for instance, are directed to obtain particulars as regards those who are travelling on Census night, or are "for any other reason not abiding on that night in any house of which account is to be taken by the enumerators," and under this head they may seek to include those who, in order to evade the Census, choose to walk the streets or remain outside a dwelling-house. But no power is given under the Act to interrogate any but "occupiers," nor is there a single word that provides for the enforcing of penalties against those who are not "occupiers" even for refusing to answer questions. The proposal to take a Census return of those travelling by road or rail, or camping out, is therefore merely a pious aspiration, since the Act provides no means for enforcing it: outside the terms "occupier" and "dwelling-house" the Act confers no penalising powers.

The terms of the Act which bear upon this point are as follows:

- (1) Schedules shall be prepared for the purpose of being filled up by or on behalf of the several occupiers of dwelling-houses
- (2) Every enumerator shall in the course of the week ending on the Saturday next before the Census day leave at every dwelling-house within his district one or more of these schedules for the occupier thereof or of any part thereof, and on every such schedule shall be plainly expressed that it is to be filled up by the occupier for whom it is left . . .
- (3) Every occupier for whom any such schedule has been so left shall fill up or cause to be filled up the schedule, so far as relates to all persons dwelling in the house, tenement, or apartment occupied by him

- (4) The expression dwelling-house shall include every building and tenement of which the whole or any part is used for the purpose of human habitation, and where a dwelling-house is let or sublet in different tenements or apartments and occupied distinctly by different persons or families, a separate schedule shall be left with or for and shall be filled up by the occupier of each distinct tenement or apartment. (Section 4, clauses 1, 2, 3 and 4.)

It will be noted that "the occupier for whom the schedule is left" is held responsible for a return of "all persons dwelling in the house occupied by him." Clearly, therefore, he alone is the "occupier" within the meaning of the Act—the occupier being the legal owner or tenant, not the mere inmate or guest. From beginning to end no authority is given under the Act for levying any penalty whatever on any person who is not an occupier for whom a schedule has been left, either for refusing to fill in the forms or for refusing to answer questions; nor has the enumerator any right to deliver a schedule to any person later than Saturday, April 1; his only power in that connection is, when collecting "all schedules so left in the course of the previous week," to "complete such of the schedules as on delivery thereof appear to him defective, and correct such as he finds to be erroneous." The Act does not give him power to force schedules upon evaders on the Monday morning and demand that they shall be filled up; he must have delivered the schedules in the previous week. As regards the penalties which the Act lays down they are all of them limited, in the words of Section 12, Clause 2, to "any occupier for whom a schedule is left under this Act." No person travelling, no person who is not an occupier, no person for whom a schedule has not been left in the week ending April 1, incurs, under the wording of the Act, any penalty whatever. The Act has been so badly drafted that those who are not "occupiers" do not fall under its provisions as regards any obligation on themselves to assist in making the returns accurate. If only one schedule had been left at a house only one person can be held responsible for filling it up (see above, Section 4, Clauses 2 and 3); that is to say, either the person for whom the schedule had been left, or the person who as substitute and temporary tenant has chosen to become responsible. Throughout the Act it is abundantly evident that to be an occupier one has to be in legal possession of a house or of some part thereof; inmates of a "workhouse, hospital, prison, public institution, or other large establishment," are not entitled to receive separate schedules as "occupiers," and therefore are outside all responsibility in the matter, and can incur no penalty for refusing information. Indeed the Act seems to recognise that such persons lie outside its jurisdiction; for in the clause dealing with their enumeration it provides for the returns, with regard to such inmates, to be made by the actual occupiers only "so far as may be practicable;" and the withdrawal of consent to unrepresentative government may make the completion of such returns a far less practicable matter than in previous years.

Points to Remember.

To sum up, the points to be borne in mind are briefly these:—

The authorities have no right to deliver schedules later than Saturday, April 1.

The authorities have no right to deliver schedules or to ask questions of those who are not legal "occupiers."

The Act provides no penalties for refusal to fill up forms or to answer questions, except against "occupiers for whom a schedule has been left."

People who are merely "inmates" or "travellers" are not called on by the Act to supply any information, and are under no penalties for not doing so. The occupiers of houses alone are responsible for making the returns with respect to inmates, "as far as may be practicable."

There is just one other point to bear in mind: resisting householders should answer all questions put by the enumerator with the formula, "I refuse to answer any question." It is possible that the official blackmailers may attempt to persuade them that for every single question they refuse to answer they incur a fine of £5. But the clause says, for "refusing to answer, or wilfully giving a false answer to any question" the penalty is £5. The formula, "I refuse to answer any question," precisely covers the wording of the clause, and will foil any brow-beating attempts at official blackmail. It may be thought that this analysis of the faulty drafting of the Act comes somewhat late but it has to be borne in mind that when it likes Parliament can rush through repressive measures against women with indecent haste. It will not, however, be possible for an amending Bill to be passed between the appearance of this week's VOTES FOR WOMEN and the night of the Census. The only thing there is time for is for the Government to announce full facilities for the Conciliation Bill this session: then, even at a days' notice, Census resistance will be dropped.

MISS ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc.

On Saturday evening next at the Queen's Hall, Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., who has made members of the Women's Social and Political Union her everlasting debtors by the gift to the cause of her "March of the Women," will give a special concert of her compositions with the aid of the London Symphony Orchestra, the Crystal Palace Choir, and Mme. Blanche Marchesi.

For the first time this movement—the greatest that the world has known—will be typified in music. The last item on the programme is a series of three songs, entitled: "Songs of Sunrise." The first, "Laggard Dawn," is simply the cry of people who are waiting for the sun to rise. Its meaning, Suffragists, who have waited so long for justice, will understand at once. This beautiful song contains a verse in memory of those who have died through their devotion to the cause.

The second song, "1910: a Medley," was evidently written in high spirits; the scene of the action is a battlefield, and the first words:

"Sounds of the battle raging around us—
Up and defy them! laugh in their faces!"

give the keynote to the whole. The words of the song are a collection of remarks, such as are continually heard in connection with the suffrage question, the *dramatis personae* consisting of four speakers:—Suffragist (S), Anti-Suffragist (A), Friendly Men (F.M.), and Unfriendly Men (U.M.). It ends, of course, in the triumph of the Suffragist, with the words, "We knew we should get it." There are many delightful touches in this song. We hear the policemen giving the order "Move on! Move on!" and the men who complain that militant methods are "putting back the cause for years," and boast of their distinguished acquaintance—"I know Mrs. Humphry Ward." Towards



DR. ETHEL SMYTH SINGING.
A Sketch by John Sargent, R.A.

the end the women are suddenly heard singing softly, but with ominous emphasis:

"Nellie Bly shuts her eye
When she goes to sleep."

And when the men ask

"But when she wakens up again?"

the triumphant reply is

"Then she knew she would get it."

This, as an American lady objected, is "not the way the song really ends," but it is the way the Suffragette's song really ends, and that is the chief point!

The third song typifies the great, victorious march of the women, and is well-known to all our readers. It will be seen from this brief description what a tremendous treat is in store for the audience on Saturday night.

Ethel Smyth, daughter of General J. H. Smyth, C.B., started her career—as so many other notable people have done—by running away from home to study music. This feat accomplished, the next step was Leipzig, where she studied at the Conservatorium and under Heinrich von Herzogenberg, and where many of her works have been performed.

It was in 1890 that she returned to England, and a composition by her was given at the Crystal Palace; and three years later two works from her pen were for the first time performed in public. Her *Mass in D* was produced at the Albert Hall and created an immediate and profound impression; so much so that the opinion was freely expressed that it could hardly be the work of a woman!

Five years later, her first opera, "Fantasio," was produced in Weimar; her second, "Der Wald," made its appearance in Berlin, in 1901, and was subsequently performed in five other German cities before it found its way to Covent Garden. And the same with its successor, "The Wreckers," which travelled to London by way of Leipzig and Prague. It was produced at His Majesty's Theatre under the direction of Mr. Thomas Beecham.

It is something for Suffragettes to know that the foremost woman composer is one of themselves—something for them to be glad of that their cause has inspired her to give them of her work. Yet, after all, it would be strange if Ethel Smyth, fighter and pioneer in the musical world, stood aside from those who are fighting and breaking ground in other directions.

This concert is an occasion at which all suffragettes should be present to show their honour and appreciation of a great woman composer who has so wholeheartedly joined their ranks.

SUFFRAGIST PLANS FOR CENSUS NIGHT.

The Suffragettes are up in arms. The Census they would slay. Till Government shall give 'em votes And quiet 'em that way!
— "Idris," in the *Western Mail*.

The figures collected at the forthcoming census will serve, we are told, as a basis for further legislation affecting women and girls as well as men and boys. Such a statement offers complete justification for a wholesale boycott of the census on the part of the women of the country who are refused any voice in the making of the laws which they have to obey.

Of recent years almost every piece of legislation aiming at reconstruction and reform has placed the price of amelioration on the over-burdened backs of women. The Children's Bill carried in 1908 is a case in point. It inaugurated a new penal code for women. Miss Georgina Brackenbury, in a short article, from which we take extracts, draws attention to the legal cruelties practised upon women in police courts on the plea of saving the children. Women are heart and soul in favour of saving the children. If the women's point of view were represented in legislation this work would be better done than it is to-day, but it would not be done at the cost of breaking the mothers.

The following typical cases illustrate the way in which the crimes of society are visited on the heads of women who, by the law of the land, are divested of parental rights and political responsibility. All these cases are quite recent.

1.—The Crime of a Dirty Home.

At Epping Police Court, on the 10th inst., Annie Woodmore, a young married woman with a family of five children, was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in Holloway Gaol for "neglect." She was not accused of physical cruelty or drunkenness—the five children were well nourished and healthy—but the house was not clean and the children's clothing was "dirty and neglected."

In this case a woman who is in ill-health because, on the admission of her husband, "she starved herself to feed the kids," is expected to cope with insanitary conditions, with the lack of water supply (except for the rain pouring through the broken roof of her cottage) while bearing and rearing five children, and doing all the washing, scrubbing, cooking, mending, and nursing of the family. Failing to fulfil this utterly impossible task, she is branded as a criminal.

2.—The Crime of a Damp Home.

The Berwick magistrates, on February 10, sentenced Edward Conroy, labourer, and his wife, Helen Conroy, to three months' hard labour for child neglect. The family, consisting of eight persons, lived together in a dark, damp room, 12 ft. square. The inspector had found eighteen people in it on one visit, and a doctor stated that it should have been condemned long ago. The youngest of the accused's six children, a baby of a month old, was found in a box lined with straw and set against a damp wall. The Bench recalled the fact that a requisition had several years ago been sent by them to the Borough Council regarding slum property, but no action had resulted. They said that until the housing problem was tackled in earnest these cases would continue.

In this case, a mother having given birth to a child a month since, is sentenced to three months' hard labour because she dwells with husband and six children in the home provided by the breadwinner, and places the baby, whom she is legally forbidden to take into her own bed, in a packing-case which she has lined with straw.

3.—The Crime of Clinging to the Home.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children prosecuted at Hyde a woman named Susan Smith, of Charles Street, Newton, for neglecting her four children. It was admitted that she was fond of her children, and did her best for them, but her husband was in Canada, and she had been unable to provide them with sufficient food, and had had to depend largely on the charity of neighbours. The cruelty complained of was that she had frequently refused to go with her children into the workhouse, and had thereby, in the opinion of a medical witness, brought unnecessary suffering on her children. Mrs. Smith again refused to go into the workhouse, and the magistrates, after some difficulty in deciding what to do with her, ultimately fined her 5s. and costs, and made an order for the removal of the children to the workhouse.

4.—The Crime of No Home.

A singular charge under the Children Act was made at Halesowen (Worcestershire) against a respectable-looking woman named Selina Mason, for causing her four children to suffer by exposure. It was stated that she and the children were ejected from a house several weeks ago, and for at least three weeks

had lived out on Walton Hills, exposed to cold and rain and sleeping in a gravel pit at night. The children were found suffering acutely from exposure at midnight by a policeman, who took them to the police station and gave them warmth and food. The woman was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

In such cases as these we hear nothing about the "sacredness of the home," nothing about the "supreme claim of motherhood," which is the argument so freely used by those who would make it illegal for married women to earn wages by being employed in shielded industry. Mr. John Burns, who openly advocates the restriction of married woman's labour, has recently issued a prohibitory order revoking the Guardians of the Poor to grant out-relief to women, whether able-bodied or not, according to the special needs and circumstances of individual cases.

Women are to be excluded everywhere, even from the benefits of the Labour Test. "This means," says *The Crusader*, the organ of the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, "that the thousands of women of all ages who struggle along with the little help from the Guardians will all have to come into the workhouse or face semi-starvation or even actual starvation." The workhouse for the normal human being who is "able-bodied" is a living grave. According to the public action by which he may be supposed to express his convictions, the President of the Local Government Board considers that woman's place as the unpaid servant of her husband is the home, and no matter what the conditions of that service may be, any attempt to achieve independence is to be forbidden by law. Deserted by her husband or left a widow, he considers that the woman's place is the workhouse. What right has a woman in such circumstances to the feelings of a human being or the affections of a mother? Should she not rather be grateful that the workhouse is a refuge provided for the masterless relicts of men?

In the typical cases quoted above women see evidences of gross ignorance, stupidity, and (probably unconscious) cruelty, leading to tragic misery and waste. Men admittedly do not understand women, the home is presumably not their "sphere," yet they legislate for the home without the consent of women. Therefore it will not be by the consent of self-respecting women that the census will be taken, for upon the results of that census fresh legislation is to be founded, which will inevitably place still heavier burdens upon the race-bearer who is already bowed beneath her heavy cross. It is imperative for the sake of the children, that women shall have the vote, and their highest duty at the present time is the duty of withholding their consent from a Government which excludes them from the rights of citizenship, and denies them a voice in the making of the laws which they are called upon to obey.

NOTA BENE.

All letters relating to Census arrangements, including requests for hospitality, should be sent to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

The hour is almost striking! The enumerators have been busy through the week leaving schedules on the householders in their district. There they lie, with their detailed inquiries. Shall we fill them up? Shall we put the Government in possession of statistics upon which to base more one-sided legislation? Or shall we simply refuse to answer any questions until the Government has answered our demand: "Give women votes!"

An amusing cartoon appeared in one of the papers the other day: An unhappy Census enumerator was standing in the middle of the room with a most woe-begone expression on his countenance, while from the half-open door, from behind the sofa, and through the window women laughed at his discomfiture! Without precisely saying that this is what women will do on April 2 (Why not April 1, by the way?), we are bound to admit that the Census authorities are in a fair way to be befuddled on an extensive scale! Only a few of the most obvious of our plans have been made public. There are others.

And we advise resistors to maintain absolute secrecy with regard to their individual plans.

HOW SHALL I RESIST OR EVADE?

Read Mr. Laurence Housman's article on p. 427, and decide, not whether to refuse the information asked for, but how.

There are several alternatives. If you are a householder, you can:—

1.—Make active resistance by refusing to fill in the form. This will make you liable to a penalty of 25s. If possible, fill your house with evaders also.

2.—Lend your house to the W.S.P.U., and ask no questions as to who will occupy it on Sunday night. Many have already done this.

3.—Leave the house empty, and write across the schedule, "House deserted by Women who want the Vote." In all cases write across the schedule some such motto as that of Jane Smith on the front of this week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and give a reason for your refusal. This can be done by active resistors who remain in the house, and by occupiers who are evading the Census, by leaving the house empty. There is no extra penalty for doing this.

POWERS OF THE ENUMERATOR.

Very hazy ideas seem to exist as to the powers of the persons who leave and collect the schedules, and in reply to numerous correspondents we repeat:—

Enumerators have no power to compel an answer to any questions; all you need do is to say, "I refuse to answer questions." There is no penalty for refusing to answer these verbal questions.

The enumerator also has no authority to ask whether you have been included elsewhere.

Enumerators will probably use all kinds of threats and spring all kinds of suggestions upon resistors; these should be entirely disregarded. Remember that only occupiers are liable for any penalty at all. Those who are not occupiers cannot be punished in any way, although no doubt enumerators, in desperation, will try to persuade them otherwise.

A report has reached Clements Inn that women are being sent round to make inquiries of landlords and landladies respecting lodgers, and that some members of the Union who did not expect to be treated as occupiers have had schedules left for them. They can either write on the form that they refuse to give any information—in which case they lay themselves open to a penalty of a fine not exceeding 25s.—or they can absent themselves from home on the night of the Census, and write on their form that they have done this in order to evade the Census. In this case they will not be liable for a penalty.

"Three Maids" are informed that they cannot be punished under the Census Act, as there will be no legal responsibility.

SOME CENSUS PLANS

The following special arrangements we gladly make public, and any members of the general public who wish to join can do so by providing themselves with tickets.

The "Census Programme" will begin on Saturday evening, April 1, at 8 p.m., with Dr. Ethel Smyth's concert at the Queen's Hall. This will be a real gathering of the clans, and many notable Suffragists, including Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke, have already taken tickets.

Then on Sunday night, as already announced, members will walk round Trafalgar Square. Should any police restrictions be made, the Suffragettes will comply with them, and will in no way come into contact with the regulations. After midnight those who wish can spend some happy hours at the Scala Theatre, where a delightful entertainment will be given by actresses and actors who are in sympathy with the Suffrage movement. After this entertainment the Aldwych Skating Rink will be open, and there will be music and plenty of opportunity for skaters to amuse themselves. The necessary question of food has not been overlooked, and close by, at the Gardenia Restaurant, meals may be had from 12 midnight till 8 a.m. for a shilling each.

London Time Table, Sunday, April 2.

11.30 to 12.30.—Members will walk round Trafalgar Square.

1 a.m. (doors open 12.30).—At the Scala Theatre a varied programme, consisting of short plays, songs, etc., is being arranged. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair. Admission one shilling to all parts of the hall. Doors open 12.30. Mrs. Partwee is acting as hostess to the actresses who are taking part, and is arranging for them to have supper and breakfast at the Gardenia afterwards. Among those who are kindly giving their services are Marguerite Adamson, Adeline Bourne, Florence Castille, Edith Clegg (engagements permitting), Dennis Clough, Jane Comfort, Marie Cunningham, J. S. Dale, Jess Dorynne, Arthur Holland, Sidney Keith, Goodwin Knock, Edith Anton Laing, Beatrice Langley, Auriol Lee, Rosa Leo, Ena Lewis, Gerald Lindley, Decima Moore, May Mukle, Gertrude Peppercorn, R. Easton Pickering, and Agnes Thomas. Miss Inez Bensusan and Mrs. Partwee are organising the entertainment. During the evening the March of the Women will be sung, conducted by Dr. Ethel Smyth. The piano, which will be played by Miss Gertrude Peppercorn, is a Bechstein Grand. "The Apple," by Inez Bensusan, will be one of the items on the programme. The warmest thanks of the Union are due to all those who are giving their help at this entertainment.

Resistors as well as evaders will be cordially welcomed.

N.B.—Tickets, 1s. each, to all parts of the house. Apply, at once, to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., as only a few remain.

3 a.m. to 8 a.m.—The Aldwych Skating Rink (about one minute's walk from Clements Inn) will be open for roller skating. A master of ceremonies will preside. A special band will be in attendance, and skates can be hired for 1s. Admission 6d. The Misses Olive, Eily, and Kitty McKay, who are very highly accomplished skaters, have kindly consented to be instructresses for the occasion. Miss Olive McKay will act as "floor manager." Some amusing games for accomplished skaters are being planned, including some highly original

ones. The Misses McKay will wear the W.S.P.U. band costume, so well known to all of us, and will thus be easily distinguished.

N.B.—Tickets sold out.

The Gardenia Restaurant, 5, Catherine Street, W.C. (next to Drury Lane Theatre), will be open from 12 midnight, and members can get a meal at any time up till 8 a.m. for 1s. Mrs. Tuckwell is kindly taking charge of the arrangements, and will have a staff of eighteen members of the Union as waitresses. Breakfasts will be served.

In addition to the programme above, several members are arranging all-night "At Home's."

Local Organisations.

Many offers of hospitality have been received from local organisations, also inquiries on the part of isolated members as to finding a home for Census night. All such information and all such inquiries should be addressed immediately to the Census Secretary, at 4, Clements Inn, or that hostesses and guests may be put in touch with one another without loss of time. Arrangements concerning hospitality and precise information as to the number of resistors should be sent at once to headquarters, so that it may be tabulated. Information is specially asked with regard to the following towns, about which full particulars as to offers of hospitality have not yet been supplied:—

Weston-super-Mare, Carnarvon, Bangor, Aberystwyth, Rhyl, St. Asaph, Andover, Tunbridge Wells, Pangbourne (Berks), Malvern, Liversham, Ventnor, Ludlow, Penzance, Salisbury, Derby.

Some Country Arrangements.

(Applications to be made to the Local Organisers.)

All over the country also elaborate plans are being made. A few of these are fore-shadowed under the various headings in "The Campaign Throughout the Country," and readers are referred to the last two copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. The following arrangements have not previously been announced:—

Edinburgh.—Miss Lucy Burns, B.A., 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street, invites members to the Café Vegetaria, Nicholson Street Bridge. Songs, recitations, and waxworks. Coffee, 1.30; breakfast, 8 a.m., price 6d.

Bournemouth.—Will all those wishing to take part in the Census Resistance write to Miss Lewis, W.S.P.U., 221, Old Christchurch Road?

Brighton.—Miss G. Allen, 8, North Street, Quadrant, will be glad to give particulars and make arrangements for any members wishing to evade the Census.

Hastings and St. Leonards.—Will any who wish to evade the Census communicate at once with Mrs. Darent Harrison, 3, Grand Parade, St. Leonards-on-Sea, who will put them in touch with people where they can spend the night.

Redhill.—Will all desirous of joining in the protest communicate with Mrs. Richmond, Fingates House, Redhill?

Waterloo, Manchester.—Mrs. A. J. Hall, "Glenamoor," The Park, Waterloo, Lancs, is throwing open her house for Census Resistors.

York.—Miss A. Coultate, 33, Melbourne Street. A meeting will be held at the office, 8, New Street. It will take the form of an all-night social. Music, readings, and recitations will be part of the programme. Supper (1s.) and breakfast (6d.) will be provided. Tickets for admission free, on application at the office.

A Brighton member is keeping her house open the night of April 2 for any who want to evade the Census. A Glasgow member writes:—"I intended to evade the Census, but not as householder, in case it might injure my work. Mr. Winston Churchill's last reply has convinced me that the time has come for women to put perhaps unfounded fears aside, and actively to resist the Census."

Some Suitable Mottos.

The following mottos, to be written across the schedules, have been suggested. Others will occur to resistors.

No Votes, no Census.

If you expect women to fulfil duties give them the right to which, by the performance of those duties, they are entitled.

Resistance Form.

1.—I, being a woman Occupier, undertake to refuse to fill up my Census Form, and to write across the form the reason for my refusal.

2.—I, being a Lodger or Boarder, or resident in an hotel, undertake to apply to the Census Authorities for a special form for my own use, and to refuse to fill in the particulars, writing across the form the reason for my refusal.

3.—I, being a male Occupier, undertake not to fill in upon the Census Form any particulars concerning the woman inmates of my house, and to write across the form the reason for this action.

4.—I, being a woman unable to protect in any of the ways mentioned above, undertake to adopt such other measures as may be necessary to escape inclusion in the Census return.

Strike out the clauses that do not apply to your case, sign your name and address below, and return in an envelope to—

MISS OLIVE SMITH, W.S.P.U.,
4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Mr., Mrs., or Miss

FULL Address

(Copies of the Census Act may be obtained from any Bookeller, or from Messrs. Wymon & Son, Stationers, 11, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4, price 1d. post free.)

Remember! Only occupiers are directly liable; evaders are not liable.

The maximum penalty for any offence under the Act is 25s.

WELCOME TO MR. ABBEY.

A rousing public welcome was given to Mr. Abbey by the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement at the Caxton Hall on Saturday last. Mr. Abbey, it will be remembered, was released from Pentonville Prison, where he had been subjected to forcible feeding as a result of refusing to take the prison food and adopting the hunger strike, on Tuesday in last week. Hearty cheers greeted Mr. Abbey and Mr. Hawkins, and the meeting was marked by the greatest enthusiasm throughout. Mr. Frank Rutter presided.

On rising Mr. Abbey was greeted with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers. Speaking of militancy, he repudiated the accusation that militant Suffragists were actuated by any love of violence for its own sake. Militant protests were rather symbolical acts of rebellion against the injustice of a position which had become intolerable. Some people asked what practical good such actions could do. That they had very definite and practical results was shown by recent events. With regard to his own action in attempting to present a letter to a meeting of the Cabinet, the time was chosen on account of the second reading of the Veto Bill being fixed for the following day, when the attention of the public would be directed to the principles and arguments by which that Bill was supported, principles and arguments which applied equally to the case of Woman Suffrage.

Why Mr. Abbey Adopted the Hunger-Strike.

The magistrate, following the usual precedent in Suffragist cases, refused to recognise the political motive of his action, and on his refusal to be bound over had sentenced him to three weeks in the second division. On his arrival at Pentonville he was told that, until the prison commissioners had been consulted, although he might keep his own clothes for the time being, he could not be allowed to send out for his own food. He accordingly adopted the hunger strike, and was forcibly fed. He was informed eventually of the decision of the commissioners, with the full approval of the Home Secretary, not to grant any privileges, and he was made to wear prison clothes. The Home Secretary at first justified this decision on the ground that Mr. Abbey's action was one of gross violence. Finding that position untenable, he was obliged to admit that in future these prison regulations were not to apply to men.

A Declaration of War.

This amounted to a declaration of war on the Men's Political Union. Mr. Churchill had evidently not so high an opinion of men's courage and endurance as he had of women's; but he (Mr. Abbey) did not think that, in the fight which they would make for the privileges to which they were entitled, the men would be the first to give way! It would be the Home Secretary who, in the end, would have to surrender. He appealed to men to come forward and take part in militant action. The Government had met peaceful and constitutional efforts with chicanery and fraud, and protests had been met with vindictive oppression. What course, therefore, was open to Suffragists except to revolt?

Mr. Victor Duval, referring to the treatment meted out to Mr. Abbey and Mr. Franklin, said that in refusing these men the privileges to which they had a right the Home Secretary had broken his word, which was given in the form of a pledge to the House of Commons to the effect that all persons committed to prison as passive resisters and as Suffragists, as a matter of course and in the absence of special instructions, be given the full benefit of the new rules.

Mr. Hawkins, the successful result of whose legal action is reported elsewhere, said he was often asked why he had done what he had for the cause of Woman Suffrage. His chief reason was that he honoured women, and thought that as a matter of justice, if for no other reason, they should be given the vote. He had expressed this opinion many years ago, and having said it he was in honour bound to take part in the fight. During their term of office the Government had used every means within their power to prevent the Woman Suffrage Bill from becoming law. If the Bill were treated in the same way on May 5 as previous Bills had been treated, he would be ready for any action, and if the Men's Political Union decided to send a deputation to the Prime Minister he would lead or follow any man who would go. It would be no good talking from platforms or writing to the Press or members of Parliament. The only effectual form of protest would be militancy.

Mr. Rutter dealt with Mr. Hawkins's victory at the Leeds Assizes, and said that the policy which Suffragists had pursued in asking questions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings had been proved by that case to be perfectly lawful.

A collection of over £60 was taken, and a resolution similar to that moved at the Albert Hall last Thursday was passed unanimously.

PROFESSOR KETTLE.

At a meeting of the Irish Women's Franchise League in the Ancient Concert Buildings, Dublin, on Tuesday, March 21, Professor T. M. Kettle, in the course of his speech, said that they were there to ask the friends of liberty, to whatever party they belonged, to see that the Conciliation Women's Suffrage Bill should have facilities to pass into law. Their programme was very brief and very simple—Votes for Women this session. It had been assumed that the deputation which went to the House of Commons went there in order to provoke a riot or make a raid. Nothing could be more ill-founded. They went to assert what they believed, and what he believed, to be a well-founded constitutional right. The fact that deputations of women were refused access to His Majesty's Ministers meant one thing, and one thing only—it meant that women were not members of the State, and were not subjects of His Majesty—that they were some inferior subject animal. He had seen some of the evidence with regard to the conduct of the police which had not been printed because it was not printable. Mr. Churchill would be a

traitor to a great name and to a great party if, with that evidence before him, he persisted in refusing to grant an inquiry into the conduct of the police. If their conduct was above reproach, why did he refuse the inquiry? If he did refuse it, it was because he knew that, as a modern England was, she had still enough sense of human dignity left to make the operations of that day expensive indeed to the political future of the party which was responsible for them.

Referring to Census Resistance, he said it was of the utmost importance that those engaged in the profession with which he was connected should have accurate statistics, and it was exactly because it inconvenienced him that he thought they were right in what they proposed to do in reference to the Census. Until the State recognised them they ought to refuse to recognise the State. There was time, and ample time, for the passage of the Women's Franchise Bill, and all this talk about the imaginary consequences of making women free citizens and not subject animals was not the language of men, but of slave-drivers. Women must have the Franchise, because men needed the help of women to solve social problems.

WOMEN LIBERALS AND THE BILL.

At the annual meeting of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation at Glasgow, beginning on March 17, a resolution was moved in favour of the Women's Conciliation Bill, and calling upon the Government to leave the date for the second reading free from Government business, and to grant further facilities for its progress. In moving the resolution, Mrs. Crosthwaite, Griffith, contended that it was a thoroughly democratic measure. It enfranchised that class of women who were obviously needing the vote. Miss Grierson, Glasgow Central, seconded. An amendment, moved by Miss Milne, Helensburgh, and seconded by Miss Marshall, to the effect that the Bill was not wide enough in its scope, was lost. Mrs. Falconer, wife of the Member of Parliament for Forfarshire, supported the resolution. As practical politicians, they must be prepared to accept a practical measure of legislation. Were they going to give up the Bill, which was open to democratic amendment? Would it not be wiser to concentrate their efforts to get the Bill through? On a vote being taken the resolution was carried by a large majority.

CARDIFF WOMEN LIBERALS.

It will be remembered that at a special meeting held by the Cardiff Liberal Women on Friday, March 10, a resolution was approved regretting the action of the Executive Committee in not working for the party at the General Election. A minority, however, disagreed with this resolution and resigned. They have since formed a provisional committee to arrange for a new organisation, under the title of the Cardiff Progressive Liberal Women's Union, with the motto (in Welsh) "We stand for justice." The membership pledge includes the words "To put suffrage first, and only to work for those Liberal candidates who are prepared to support any Bill brought in by the Conciliation Committee for women's suffrage in all its stages."

TAX RESISTANCE.

"The more advertisement we get, the better for the cause," said Miss Pankhurst recently at the Queen's Hall, and certainly the value of militancy as an advertisement has been proved again and again. The newspapers report militancy, and naturally encourage women to give the material, but Suffragettes know well that in addition to the idea of advertisement there are great and fundamental principles of honour and duty underlying all militant demonstrations. The tax resistance which was carried out in Bath last week by Mrs. Stanley Moger was a great success in attracting public attention both at the sale and at the meeting held afterwards, and secured nearly a column of report in two of the chief Bath papers (one representing each political party). That is well, but the protest, of course, was actuated by the conviction that it is an injustice to be taxed if one is not represented, and a Suffragette considers it incompatible with the feeling of self-respect to yield meekly to an injustice.

Mrs. Moger refused to pay a 10s. inhabited house duty, and therefore the authorities seized an electric battery belonging to her, and it was sold on Friday at the Central Auction Market. The room was crowded, and as soon as the battery was put up Mrs. Mansel stood upon a chair and protested in the name of justice and of John Hampden. A banner was displayed, and handbills were given round. The people present showed a great deal of sympathy, and many women were delighted at the action taken. Afterwards a meeting was held in the Sawloose, and Mrs. Mansel spoke at length to a large and interested audience.

MISS PANKHURST'S TAX RESISTANCE.

In reply to a further official threat of the usual "proceedings" to recover income-tax, Miss Christabel Pankhurst wrote as follows:—"Sir.—In reply to your letter of March 24, I have to say that I have decided to pay no income-tax until such time as the law permits me to qualify as a voter. Any proceedings that you may take for the recovery of the money will be quite in vain, as I shall decline to pay the amount claimed.—Yours faithfully, (Signed) CHRISTABEL PANKHURST."

Then came a letter from the Solicitor to the Treasury saying that it would be necessary to take legal proceedings and asking whether Miss Pankhurst preferred to have a summons served personally or through her solicitor. Miss Pankhurst has replied, "I have your letter of the 23rd of March, saying that in consequence of my refusal to pay income-tax it will now be necessary to issue process. I prefer to be personally served."

The address of the Women's Tax Resistance League is 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

A very interesting interview with Miss Vida Goldstein appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* of March 23.



I Can Make You

a Convincing Speaker

BY POST—In the privacy of Your Home or Study—says Professor GRENVILLE KLEISER

He rids you of timidity—gives you confidence in yourself—develops your power and personality. Just give him fifteen minutes of your time daily—and he will speedily teach you how to

Make Political Speeches

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Tell Stories Entertainingly

Nearly every woman interested in the Suffrage question is frequently called upon to speak in public. Political meetings, deputations, branch meetings, &c., make insistent demands upon her, and afford endless opportunities and requests for appropriate speech.

This Spring Your Turn May Come—Are You Prepared?

If you can't talk to the point you can't carry conviction—you can't win! Do you want to win your point? Then sign and post coupon to-day asking for advice on any special subject you wish to be strengthened in. Let us tell you all about this helpful course, and prove its value. Thousands of professional and business men and women are taking this course, to their permanent advantage. "It has been a godsend to me," writes one of the many clergymen who is training with Professor Kleiser.

We have received hundreds of enthusiastic letters like this: "The Course has been of great value to me. One hundred times the cost would be no inducement to me to be without the benefit derived from it."

Without cost or obligation to me, please post full information, including your special reduced price of Greenville Kleiser's Correspondence Course in Public Speaking and the development of Mental Power and Personality. Special advice required on

PUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
Salisbury Square, London, E.C.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Deputation.

Preoccupied though they have been with the Census protest, members of the Union are not forgetting the necessity of preparing for a possible deputation in May. Several of those who announced their intention of taking an active part in Census Resistance have added that they also wish to join the deputation. Mrs. Hall, of Waterloo, Lancashire, writes that she is a Tax Resister, a Census Resister, and an active VOTES FOR WOMEN seller (she has already 56 regular subscribers: sells 72 copies of the paper every week; and now promises to canvass three extra streets each week, selling the paper from house to house). She then adds: "Kindly enrol me as a member of the next deputation. I should have been with you on the last if it had been at all possible; this time it is going to be possible." Members who have decided to volunteer for an active protest in the event of the Conciliation Bill being blocked, are asked to send in their names as soon as possible, as the arrangements for so large a deputation will of necessity be complicated.

C. H. P.

London Free Meetings.

Week after week the audiences at the Monday afternoon meetings have the opportunity of hearing the subject of "Votes for Women" from many different standpoints. Men and women well-known in the literary, artistic, and the religious worlds, have again and again spoken on this platform. On Monday, April 3, members and friends will have the opportunity of hearing the Rt. Rev. Bishop Mathew, Old Catholic Bishop, on the subject of "Votes for Women" at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., at 3 p.m. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., will also speak. On Thursday, April 6, the evening meeting at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour-street, will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

Mrs. Pankhurst in Ireland.

Irish Suffragettes will welcome the news that Mrs. Pankhurst will again visit Ireland during the coming week. Already meetings have been arranged in Dublin on Wednesday, April 5, and Thursday, April 6, and in Belfast on Friday, April 7. Reports to hand prove that her visit is anticipated with keen interest.

Festival of Empire.

Visitors to the Crystal Palace for the Festival of Empire will not be kept in ignorance with regard to the militant movement. Already arrangements have been made by the W.S.P.U. to erect a special kiosk (between the main bandstand and the Australian building) where literature and colours will be sold.

Procession and Demonstration.

The summer of 1911, especially the month of June, will be a memorable one in the history of England apart from political questions. The thoughts of the British public will be filled with the Coronation of their King and Queen. London will be full of visitors, and the representatives of women voters from Australia, will be amongst those present. One of the things that must be impressed upon these men and women from over the seas is that British

women desire their political freedom. A monster procession and demonstration is therefore being organised by the W.S.P.U., and will take place on Saturday, June 17 (Saturday before the Coronation), from the Embankment to the Albert Hall. All Suffrage societies have been invited to take part, and already a letter of acceptance has been received from the Actresses' Franchise League. Tickets for the Albert Hall meeting are now on sale, and may be had from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.O. Members only are allowed to make application, but they are invited to secure tickets for their friends. Prices: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d., Arena and Lower Orchestra, 1s., Upper Orchestra and Balcony, 6d., Boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 10s. 6d., all numbered and reserved.

Miss Vida Goldstein's Engagements.

Miss Vida Goldstein, whose speech at the Albert Hall was so thoroughly enjoyed by members and friends, has already started on her tour through the country. To-day, Friday, she will address a meeting in the Upper Gilfillan Hall, Dundee, at 8 p.m.; on Monday, April 3, she will speak in the ballroom of the Music Hall, Aberdeen, at 8 p.m.; on Tuesday, April 4, at the Charing Cross Hall, Glasgow; on Friday, April 7, at the Town Hall, Newcastle, at 7.30 p.m.; on Saturday afternoon, April 29, at The Spa, Felixstowe; on Monday, May 1, at the Albert Hall, Sheffield; and on Tuesday, May 2, at the Town Hall Assembly Rooms, Rotherham. She will also be present at a dinner given in her honour by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, at the Inns of Court Hotel, on Thursday, May 4, and at a Reception at the Hampstead Conservatoire, on Saturday afternoon, May 6.

Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert.

Those wishing for a musical treat are reminded that to-morrow (Saturday) Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., will give an orchestral and choral concert at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., at 8 p.m. A delightful programme has been arranged, and Suffragettes will welcome the news that one of the items will be the rendering of the "Songs of Sunrise" (including the March of the Women) by the Crystal Palace Choir of 200 voices. This will be the first time the "Songs of Sunrise" have been sung in public, and as they typify the dawn, arguments, and triumph of the suffrage movement, for the first time expressed in music by a woman composer, Suffragettes will be keenly interested. Tickets, Reserved Sofa Stalls and Grand Circle 7s. 6d., Area Stalls and Grand Circle 5s., Unreserved: Balcony 2s. 6d., Admission 1s., may be obtained from the Box Office, Queen's Hall; from the usual Agents and libraries; from L. G. Sharp, 61, Regent Street, W., and from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.O.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Our readers will be glad to know that owing to the interest aroused in the Cartoon Exhibition, it has been decided to keep it open a week longer than was formerly arranged. The Cartoons are on sale, and can be had, price one guinea each.

THE PRESS BOYCOTT.

We quoted last week an interesting letter by Mr. Zangwill in reference to the pious attitude of the *Westminster Gazette* over Lady Selborne's recent letter to the *Times*. In reply to Mr. Zangwill, a correspondent signing himself "A Journalist" alleges in the same journal that the newspapers cater for the public, and that if they give very short or even no reports of Woman Suffrage meetings, it is because editors, who are shrewd judges on the matter, know that their readers take no interest in the subject. The pithiness of this explanation is shown by Mr. Zangwill in the following letter, which appeared on March 24:—

To the Editor of the "*Westminster Gazette*."

Sir,—All Suffragists will be grateful to "A Journalist" for his candid admission that Suffragist news is suppressed, but I must confess that his explanation that "newspapers are commercial enterprises and . . . that their existence depends upon their satisfying the public" had not occurred to me as a justification for this suppression (not to mention the frequent suggestion *falsi*). I imagined that journalism was an old and honourable profession, and that "what the public wants" from such a newspaper as the *Times* is a true and proportionate account of what is happening in the world. An author's address on Feminism in the greatest hall of the greatest city of the world may not deserve even the mention that he was there; though in that case it seems unfair to my profession to devote half a column to another author's refusal to pay for his cigars. But the meeting itself, at which a sum of £9,000 was collected, was an imposing political phenomenon, and its dismissal in a few lines is absolutely indefensible. Just about the same time I counted over 400 "Constitutional" meetings in a single week in London alone, organised by that W.S.P.U. which invariably looms as militant because only its militant actions are recorded.

Now that I learn from "A Journalist" that it is not he but a vaguely imagined man in the street who really writes the "leaders" and selects "the news," I understand why the real man in the street no longer reads papers with the old conviction. Hence this *dégradade* of our Press, this fall in prices, this loss of political influence. Commercial editors may no more understand "what the public wants" than commercial theatrical managers. So far from losing by the space it gives to Suffragism, the *Manchester Guardian* has now, in many a London home, displaced the untrustworthy local Press.

Lady Selborne's thoughtless publication of what did not happen is a negligible error beside the daily purposeful suppression of what does happen, and, in defending this suppression, "A Journalist" makes clear to me what has long puzzled me—why the contemporary Josephus and Talmud contain no clear and undoubted reference to Christ.—Yours sincerely, ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

41, Norfolk Square, Hyde Park.

Mr. Zangwill's contention is supported by Mr. H. W. Nevinson, who writes to the same paper as follows:—

Sir,—Will you allow me to support Mr. Zangwill's complaint against the persistent boycott of Woman Suffrage news by the newspapers? His speech at the Albert Hall last November was one of the greatest speeches I have ever heard, and I have heard Gladstone in his best days. Yet hardly a paper quoted a sentence from it, and most papers either ignored Mr. Zangwill's presence at the meeting or ignored the meeting altogether. The same methods are adopted towards nearly all Suffrage news, unless the news can be made to fall against the cause. If some woman makes some error of judgment, or is goaded to exasperation by the unfairness and misrepresentation with which our opponents conduct the controversy, the papers find plenty of room for scathing reports and moral leading articles upon "feminine ethics." If a man in high position makes an error of judgment, are we given moral lectures on "masculine ethics"? It is an old saying that you cannot bring an indictment against a whole nation. But the opponents of Woman Suffrage think nothing of bringing an indictment against half humanity.

Mr. Nevinson goes on to quote the editor of the *Daily News*, who in a recent speech admitted that events were now recorded less faithfully and impartially than a generation ago, and that there was a mischievous tendency nowadays to use the news columns for propagating certain opinions. As to the public taking no interest in Suffrage news, Mr. Nevinson points out that the large circulation of Suffrage papers and the enormous crowds at Suffrage meetings are a complete answer to this.

We have received a number of letters from correspondents who agree with E. M. Telf, whose letter with regard to the Press boycott appeared in our last week's "Post Box." One correspondent says she has cancelled a two years' order for a well-known weekly paper on account of its attitude to the suffrage. Another has countermanded two halfpenny papers, explaining to the editors why she is doing so. "A Manse Lady" writes:—"I believe we could boycott the Press that boycotts us to some purpose, and on non-militants especially I would lay this duty, seeing they don't make personal sacrifices of a more serious nature." To all these correspondents we would point out that the best way to spread knowledge of the Suffrage movement is to increase the circulation of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

"COULD AND SHOULD."

In a speech at an I.L.P. meeting at Manchester last week Mr. Kair Hardie, M.P., discussed the political situation, and after referring to the Parliament Bill, the Osborne judgment, and other legislation, said:—"There is one other measure which is neither in the Labour party's programme nor in the Liberal programme, which could and should become law this session—I mean the Bill known as the Conciliation Bill for the enfranchisement of women."

NO VOTE, NO CENSUS.

The following extracts from a leaflet addressed to the electors of Hastings and St. Leonards by the Hastings and St. Leonards Women Propaganda League will interest the Census Revisitors:—

"Gentlemen, there is a limit to women's patience and forbearance; and you will, I think, admit that submission to systematic robbery and injustice is neither compatible with human dignity nor with womanly virtue. Our standards of right and wrong cannot be adjusted to suit the convenience of irresponsible Cabinet Ministers. But I doubt if you at all realise how bitterly we resent the barbarous treatment that has been meted out to women fighting for their political liberties. It is not only a National disgrace, it is a disgrace to Christendom. A serious crisis has been reached, and it is nothing less than the humanity and honour of English manhood that is at stake. Women of all classes are being driven to open and organised revolt. The refusal to pay taxes and give information to a despotic Government, which may use both to promote legislation which we consider injurious to the nation and degrading to our sex, is not only a logical and justifiable protest, but, to many of us, a morally imperative duty. We are fully alive to the seriousness of this action, the responsibility for which rests upon the Government which considers physical violence, indecent assaults, the prison cell, the feeding tube and the hosepipe suitable weapons with which to overcome the spiritual forces that are driving us along the road to Freedom."

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Sir,—Might I suggest that those who cannot or will not refuse to fill up their Census paper might at least do something for the cause by entering, under the head of "Infirmary," the word "Unfranchised."—Yours, etc.,

K. LOWNDEN.

Edgbaston, March 28, 1911.

MRS. PANKHURST IN THE POTTERIES.

Mrs. Pankhurst spoke in the Potteries on Votes for Women early this week, and had a rousing welcome at Hanley on Tuesday evening last. The audience was a crowded and most enthusiastic one, including a large number of people who had never before attended a Suffrage meeting. Mrs. Pankhurst's speech was thoroughly appreciated, new members joined, many questions were asked, and a good collection was taken. Many representative people occupied seats on the platform.

MR. BIRRELL IN MANCHESTER.

Although it had not been publicly announced that Mr. Birrell would visit Manchester on Friday last as the guest to dinner of the members of the Reform Club, a large force of detectives and constables were provided as his escort. This did not prevent a member of the W.S.P.U. from approaching him on his alighting from the train and reminding him of the women's cause. She was at once seized by detectives, but a gentleman of Mr. Birrell's party offered to give to him the copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* which she had been prevented from delivering herself. Mr. Birrell was escorted to the Midland Hotel, and a couple of hours later, just before leaving for the Reform Club, was confronted by two women, who called on him to prove his friendship to the women by resigning from the Cabinet which refused to do them justice. Mr. Birrell seemed much disconcerted, and did not reply. One of the women was arrested and taken in the direction of the police station, but was released when Mr. Birrell was seen to have got safely away. A telegram was sent to him at the Reform Club reminding him of his duty towards the Women's Bill, and he was again faced and questioned by three women and a man on leaving the Reform Club, escorted by the Chief Constable of Manchester and a bodyguard of detectives.

QUEEN'S HALL.

At the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence urged upon members the immediate duty of increasing the circulation of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, more especially in view of the press boycott. The Rev. T. Rhonda Williams gave an inspiring speech, which we hope to publish in a subsequent issue. Mr. Frank Butler described the proceedings during Mr. Hawkins's case at Leeds Assizes, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst said that in time to come Mr. Hawkins's splendid action would be regarded as one of the most illustrious in the annals of the fight for the vote.

MEETING AT CHELTENHAM.

Miss Platman is to be congratulated upon the splendid result of her two months' campaign in Cheltenham. On Tuesday night a very fine meeting, representative of both social and educational interests in the town, was held at the Town Hall, when the chair was taken by Miss Annie Kenney, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Platman were the speakers. The speeches were listened to with the greatest attention, and were marked by outbursts of applause, and a resolution protesting against the treatment of the women's question by the Government, and calling for facilities for the Woman Suffrage Bill was passed with two dissentients.

DEBATE AT THE QUEEN'S HALL.

We are asked to announce that all the tickets for the debate at the Small Queen's Hall on Friday, April 7, at 8.30 p.m., are sold. Applications continue to pour in. The debate, in which the speakers will be Miss Cicely Hamilton and Mr. G. K. Chesterton, is proving intensely popular.

A full and excellent report of the great Albert Hall meeting on Thursday night appears in *The Christian Commonwealth* for March 29.

If figures tell the tale a right cause of "Votes for Women" is flourishing financially, however it may be faring politically. The Women's Social and Political Union have just issued their fifth annual report. Just in more figures, is the progress of the Suffragist movement in five short years strikingly illustrated.—*Daily Herald*.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

"Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it. Only engage, and then the mind grows heated. Begin, and then the work will be completed."—Gotha.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Mrs. Lyall Dempster makes a most urgent appeal for paper-sellers for to-morrow (Saturday), East Race Day. The race starts at 2 o'clock, and the paper cart will be at Putney Bridge at 1 o'clock, where intending sellers will please assemble for papers. Members are earnestly requested to attend in force, as it is important to have a large number of sellers along the route. Volunteers are also wanted for the usual street pitches. Names should be sent in to Mrs. Lyall Dempster, The Women's Press, 159, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Speakers.—Members are aware that a large open-air campaign is being organised in connection with the Speakers' Class. Already a number of beginners have made the plunge and are addressing meetings weekly, but a larger number is wanted. Members are therefore urged to join the Speakers' Class, which is held every Friday evening at 4, Clements Inn (see page 455), and thus gain help and practice for taking their part in this valuable propaganda work.

BALHAM & TOTTING.

Office: 60, Balham High Road, S.W. Tel.: 1235 Battersea. Organiser—Miss Violet Hughes, B.A.

A most successful "At Home" was given by Miss Mills on Saturday last when Mrs. Massey spoke. In the evening, Mrs. Eyles addressed another meeting, with Miss Laura Alworth in the chair. The organiser hopes that friends who can help in any way will put themselves in touch with her. Special thanks to Miss Jane Comfort, who volunteered her services at the Wednesday meeting, when Miss Fagg was unable to be present. Will Census revisitors call at the office for information? Don't forget the Assembly Rooms meeting on April 5. Canvassers, chalkers, volunteers for poster parade on Saturday, and stewards are needed in large numbers and are requested to hand in their names immediately. Acknowledged with thanks: Miss F. M. Russell, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. W. Russell, 2s. 6d.; per Mrs. McCormick, 6s. 3d.; per Mrs. Henry, 2s. 6d.; per Mrs. Yeck, 4s. 11d.; Miss M. M. Gray, 3s. 6d. per week; Miss A. M. O'Leary, 3d. per week; per Missa Migova, 2s.

BARNES.

Office—54, High Street. Organiser—Miss Belden.

All members are most cordially invited to the "At Home" next Friday (see programme), it is hoped they will bring friends. Tea 3d. each. Many thanks to Mrs. Guest and Miss Guthrie, for canvassing for the meeting last week. Will members try to increase the sale of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* by circulating it amongst their friends. Volunteers for paper-selling, and chalkers for open-air meetings are urgently needed. Will friends please communicate with the organiser if they will lend their drawing-rooms for meetings? Donations towards campaign funds will be welcomed. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Richards Es. towards Self-Denial Fund.

BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Susan Watt, 13, Stratford Road.

At last Monday's business meeting several new members were welcomed, and a sum of £7 10s. 9½d. was handed to the treasurer, representing Self-Denial Week contributions to date. Census Resistance arrangements

are now complete, but names of readers may still be sent in. A special appeal is made to members to bring *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to the notice of new readers. Excellent results are obtained by omission of subscribers. Papers can be obtained at the shop address any day. Current number on Friday evenings. Who will give a few hours a week to this valuable work? Three names were received on Monday, but more helpers are needed for Hadley Wood and Whetstone. Members wishing to secure good seats in the Albert Hall on June 17 should send in names at once, as arrangements are being made to take a box for this Union.

BOWEN PARK AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Organiser—Miss H. Gargitt, 8, Stander Rd., Palmers Green.

Mr. Victor Pratt kindly lent his studio on Friday evening last, when a large number of people listened with wrapt attention to Miss Joachim. After the delightful way in which she justified the need for militancy, several warmers declared themselves convinced. A number of sympathisers will resist the Census in this district.

BROMLEY, KENT.

On Tuesday, March 22, Mrs. Graham-White very kindly lent her drawing-room at The Mansion, Sundridge Park, for a meeting at which the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield and Miss Leonora Tyson were the speakers. Miss Tyson occupied the chair. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield dealt with some of the reasons why women need the vote, and her eloquence and sincerity won her the immediate sympathy of all present. Miss Leonora Tyson followed with a vindication of militancy. None of those present had previously attended a Suffrage meeting, and many ladies expressed their interest in the subject and their approval of the speaker. A collection of £1 12s. 6d. was taken and will be devoted to the Streatham W.S.P.U. Shop Fund.

CHELSEA, BATTERSEA, KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office—209, King's Road.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Haig and Miss Blacklock.

Parade for the Jubilee Sale which will be held shortly after Easter, should be sent addressed to the Secretary to this office, and marked "Jubilee Sale". Will friends who are spring cleaning please remember that all kinds of articles, as well as clothes, find a ready sale. Next Wednesday evening's meeting will be the last before Easter. Miss Bowditch has kindly promised to speak on "The Present Position of Women". Members are particularly asked to be present as plans for the open-air campaign which will start immediately after Easter must be discussed. The Secretaries would be glad to have the names of speakers, supporters and paper-sellers.—Sunday meetings in Battersea Park will commence on Easter Sunday. Miss Medwin will be glad of helpers.

CHISWICK.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Coombs, 38, Sutton Court Rd.

To-day (Friday's) meeting being an especially important one, members are urged to be present. Will all those who wish to join the Chiswick contingent of Census evaders send in their names immediately to Miss Coombs, if they have not already done so.

CROYDON.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Croydon.

Tel. 999 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan and Miss Leslie Hall.

Stewards are wanted for Mr. Laurence Houseman's Dramatic Reading on Monday. Programmes and

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

March.		4, Clements Inn, W.C.	Speakers' Class, Miss Rose Leo	7.45 p.m.
Friday, 31	905, Fulham Road, S.W.	Members' Rally	Mrs. Brailsford	7 p.m.
"	"	Harlequin, Manor Park Road	Miss Peck, Miss Bain	8 p.m.
"	"	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales (outside)	Miss Wright, Chair: Miss Dixon	7.40 p.m.
"	"	St. Pancras, Queen's Crescent and Malden Road	Miss M. B. Thompson	8 p.m.
"	"	Upper Tooting, 22, Fowler Street, Drawing-room meeting	Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Chair: Miss Hughes, Hostess: Mrs. Harris	8 p.m.
"	"	Wimbledon, Compton Hall	Miss Margaret West	3.30 p.m.
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sweets only will be sold. Offers of home-made sweets for the occasion will be welcome. A most successful meeting was held on Wednesday, March 22, in Mrs. Gysin's drawing-room. Mrs. Gysin and Mrs. Cameron-Swan were the speakers. A good sale of papers and books was made, Miss Bissell being in charge of literature. Miss Young and the Misses Mott were warmly thanked for Self-Denial gifts of home-made sweets, and Miss Dutch, Mrs. and Miss Staines and Mrs. Aimes for their kind response to the Self-Denial post-cards. Will members please note that the usual working party will not be held on April 3? Splendid results have been obtained by Self-Denial card collectors, especially Mrs. Farrier, 35, 2d.; Miss Arter, 125, 65d.; Miss Rex, 11s.; Miss Julian, 3s. 6d.; Miss Baxter, 11s. 8d.; Miss J. Smith, 10s.; Miss H. Ingles, 14s. 6d.; Miss Withall, 13s.; Mrs. Edwards, 9s. 8d.; Mrs. Morris is warmly thanked for donation for South Croydon Station poster, and the Misses Mott for promise of subscription to Shop Fund.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.

Shop—905, Fulham Road.

Hon. Secs.—Miss L. Cutler and Mrs. Roberts.

Will those members who have not yet sent in their Self-Denial cards, please do so at once. A most interesting meeting was held at the shop last Friday, and Miss Freeman spoke. Mrs. Oliver Watts in the chair. It is hoped every member will make a special effort to attend to-night's meeting and bring a friend. Scala Theatre and Albert Hall tickets (1s. and 6d.) can be obtained at the shop, where local arrangements re Census night can also be ascertained. Volunteers for paper-selling for to-morrow, Boat-race day, are urgently needed.

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss R. M. Billingham.

7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath, S.E.

It has been decided to postpone the usual "At Home" at the Bishop Hall on the first Thursday in April on account of Mr. Laurence Housman's reading of "Pains and Penalties," at the Ladywell Parish Hall on that day. Members and friends are urged to take this opportunity of enjoying an intellectual treat and at the same time according a warm welcome to such a champion of the cause. Members will be glad to hear that the result of the Self-Denial canvass in this neighbourhood amounts to £19 10s. 6d. Will members please send in their cards to the above address?

HACKNEY.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. F. W. Jones, 36, Pembury Road.

There was a good meeting on Friday evening last, and over £8 realised for Self-Denial Week. Another member has offered her flat for Census night. Anyone in the neighbourhood who intends to resist, or evade should apply to the Secretary, who has had three houses offered her for accommodation.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop—59, Heath Street. Office—154, Finchley Road.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier.

All communications should, in future, be addressed to one or other of the Hon. Secretaries, at the offices. Mrs. Hicks wishes to thank members and friends who helped to make the Jumble Sale such a success. A profit of £20 0s. 6d. was made. A reception to Miss Vida Goldstein will be held at the Conservatoire on Saturday afternoon, May 6. The committee will hold an At Home, in the Small Hall, Haverstock Hill, on Monday afternoon, April 24. Speaker: Mrs. Hylton Dale. Anyone requiring a home for Census night should apply to the secretaries at once. Helpers, especially paper-sellers, are badly needed.

HIGHGATE.

Organiser—Miss Billing, 4, Clements Inn.

Muswell Hill members and sympathisers will be glad to know that Mrs. Drummond hopes to form a local union there on April 11. Please keep date free; particulars later. Another good open-air meeting has been held near the Athenaeum; speaker, Miss Billing. Will any who are still in need of hospitality, or who can offer hospitality, for Census night, please communicate with the organiser without delay? The Highgate office is now closed, but Miss Billing will be glad to see members at any time, by appointment.

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.

A good meeting was held at Seven Kings' on Wednesday, Mrs. Whitten and Miss Haslam being the speakers. On Saturday the familiar colours as usual drew a large crowd, when Miss Haslam spoke. It is hoped that all members will make an effort to be present at to-morrow's At Home. Town Hall meeting arrangements will be under discussion. Members should bring their unconverted friends to hear Miss Evelyn Sharp on Tuesday (see programme). All wishing to take part in the Census protest should apply to the secretary at above address.

ISLINGTON.

Office—347, Goswell Road, E.C. Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casserley.

Members please note member's meeting on Wednesday next. Home-made marmalade now on sale at the Office. Will anyone wishing for house-room on Census Night, apply to the Secretary, who will give introductions to a private house-holder and Census resister?

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel., 2116 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Eaton and Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Mr. Frank Witty has very kindly consented to sing his Suffrage songs at the monthly "At Home" on Wednesday afternoon, which will be combined with a Sale of surplus Shop stock, and will be held, by Mrs. Hartley Withers' kindness at 6, Linden Gardens—tea 3d. (see programme). Members are asked to come and bring friends; the goods will be useful and marked low, and the proceeds will be given to Self-Denial Fund. This week being the All-British Shopping Week, the public have been reminded by a notice in the Shop window that the books and pamphlets are "written by Britons, printed by Britons and sold by Britons, who never will be slaves, and therefore demand Votes for Women." The following contributions have been given to the Free Paper Fund:—Miss Squier, 5s.; Mrs. Hartley Withers, 2s.; Miss Watter, 2s.; Miss Wylie, 2s. The Misses Lowy have made another £7 for Self-Denial Fund by a small impromptu dance, which was a great success, the guests being invited by telephone, and asked to pay half-a-crown each. The enterprise is worth copying. A typist who can use an Oliver machine is much needed in the office. Will somebody kindly volunteer?

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Shop hours, 2 to 8 p.m. Thurs., 10.30—12.30 p.m. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road.

Mrs. Lorrain's lecture and Miss Sargent's fine rendering of Olive Schreiner's *Drummond*, were greatly appreciated at Avenue House where the last "At Home" of the season was held on March 21. Mr. Laurence Housman's reading of *Pains and Penalties*, April 6 (tickets 2s. reserved and 1s. unreserved) will take the place of the usual monthly "At Home." Members are urged to make this event known and to sell tickets. Will members bear in mind that Self-Denial cards have to be sent to 4, Clements Inn (marked Lewisham), on March 31. A huge crowd listened to Miss C. D. Townsend and Mrs. Leigh, at Catford on Saturday, and Votes for Women found a ready sale. Hilly Fields Sunday meetings will be resumed on April 2. Bill distributors and literature sellers will be most welcome. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Chittenden, 1s. 6d.; Miss Geoghegan, 2s.; Mrs. McKenzie, 3s. 6d.

NORTH ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Constance Bryar, 59, Tufnell Pk., N.

The sum realised by collecting cards and Self-Denial canvass already amounts to £6 8s. 6d. Members who have not yet sent in their cards should do so at once. Another house in the neighbourhood will be open on April 2 to Census resisters. Will those who wish to pass a quiet night write immediately to the secretary? Everybody is invited to the last At Home of the season on April 6, to hear Miss Brackenbury on "The Next Step" (see programme).

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—215, High Road, Kilburn. Tel. 1183. Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell.

Will all those who have not completed their arrangements in regard to Census resistance call at the shop, or communicate with the secretary who can give several addresses where members will be welcomed. There is much work to be done in addressing and distributing various important circulars; help will be much appreciated. Warm thanks to all those who during Self-Denial Week gave such willing help in the sale of Rock and Votes for Women at the Marble Arch, more especially to those who, though not members of the local union, so kindly lent their aid. Self-Denial Week results will be announced later.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Shop and Office—50, Praed Street, W.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Haverfield.

On Wednesday next Mrs. A. J. Webb has kindly consented to speak on "Social Purity" (see programme). The organiser hopes members and their friends will attend in force. Now that the great Albert Hall meeting is over members will finish the canvass of Municipal voters, which progresses very well. A most successful drawing-room meeting was held at Captain and Mrs. Dugdale's house last Monday, a short account of which will be found elsewhere.

PINNER.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Terrero, Rockstone House.

A party of village school children were entertained at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Terrero at Rockstone House, on Saturday, March 25. At the request of the children, Miss McClelland spoke to them on Woman Suffrage, cleverly explaining the meaning of the vote, and why women were fighting for it, in the form of a fairy tale, which was greatly appreciated by both children and grown-ups. The children also had their first lesson in singing the March of the Women, after which they recited some verses which they themselves had composed on the Suffrage. It is hoped a Young Girls' Brigade will be formed for the purpose of assisting the Votes Secretary in selling Votes for Women in the neighbourhood.

RADLETT.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. White, Gravels.

Public meetings will be held at 1, The Terrace, Watling Street (over Heaver's newsagency), on the third Wednesday in each month, at 8 p.m. The first will be on April 19. It is hoped there will be a good attendance. Notices will be distributed widely. Alternating with these meetings it is proposed to hold social gatherings at the houses of members or sympathisers, particulars of which will be announced at each third-Wednesday meeting. Radlett was well represented at the Albert Hall meeting on March 23.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

Hon. Secs.—Miss E. Casey, 25, West Park Road, Kew; Miss Y. Slade, 4, Pagoda Avenue, Richmond.

Plans for Census protest may be had from the secretaries. It is hoped that all who can will join in this protest. A member has an embroidered handkerchief sachet and also a glove sachet which she is anxious to sell for Self-Denial Fund.

STREATHAM.

Shop and Office: 5, Shrubbery Road, Streatham.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson.

Those wishing of joining the Census night party are asked to meet at the Shop at 10.30 p.m., on April 2. A few Scala Theatre tickets are still on sale at the Shop. The first weekly contributions to the shop-rent now fall due, and should be sent or given to Mrs. Holman, at 5, Shrubbery Road. On Wednesday, March 22, Mrs. Burge arranged a most successful drawing-room meeting. Miss Leonora Tyson spoke, and Miss B. P. Young took the chair. Considerable interest and sympathy were aroused, especially in the Census boycott. Mrs. Buttinger joined the Union. Gratefully acknowledged: Collection at the Mansion, Sundridge Park, 23s. 9d.; Miss Tyson, 1s.; Miss Nicholls, 13s.; Mrs. Burge, 10s. The last lecture takes place on Tuesday next, when Miss Mabel Atkinson, M.A., reads a paper, entitled "The Real Causes of Infantile Mortality." Let members work for a record attendance.

SYDENHAM.

Shop and Office—96, Kirkdale. Organiser: Miss Miller.

The organiser is glad to report a particularly successful week, with much work done. Canvassing has been going on apace, and all meetings have been well attended. Special thanks to Miss Naylor, who spoke twice. The Shop "At Home" was the greatest success, nearly seventy being present for Mrs. Pertwee's most interesting address. Everyone spoke most warmly of their delightful afternoon, and many are coming to the Forest Hill Baths meeting. Three new members were made, bringing this week's total to seven. Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Hewitson, 2s.; Miss Broadhurst, 1s.

UXBRIDGE & DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec.—Miss K. Raleigh, 3, Park Road, Uxbridge.

Mrs. Bonwick very kindly spoke at the "Old Pump" on Saturday last, and explained the Conciliation Bill. The Urban Council is being elected this week, and it has been ascertained on enquiry that most of the Councillors who continue in office, and most of the candidates are in favour of the Conciliation Bill. There is little opposition, but more workers are needed.

WALTHAMSTOW.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. David Milne, Claremont House, 46, Second Avenue, Walthamstow.

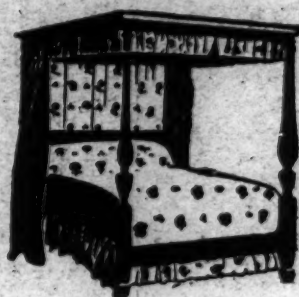
Members and friends will be glad to hear that Mrs. Drummond will speak at the Pioneer Café, Hoe Street, on Friday next (see programme). They are asked to make this meeting a success, by endeavouring to bring at least one friend to the meeting.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop—A, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon. Tel. 1052. P.O. Wimbledon.

Hon. Organising Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey.

The usual weekly meeting was held on Tuesday at the Compton Hall, when Mrs. Masy gave an address on "Women v. Party." Mrs. Ruggett was in the chair. Thanks to new volunteers who have promised to sandwich for these meetings. They have proved such a success that the Hall has been engaged for another series after Easter, commencing May 12. Please note that these will be on Wednesdays. It would add much to the social value of these gatherings if, when they are over, members would rally for tea at the shop. Self-Denial marmalade has been selling steadily, and it is hoped to avoid disappointment. Self-Denial cards must be in not later than Thursday. The members thank Mr. and Mrs. Lamartine Yates for the clock which they have given to the shop, which is proving a great boon. On Sunday on the Common Miss Barwell was the speaker. To-day, Miss Margaret West will speak on "Some Women World Makers."



THE SIGN OF THE FOUR-POSTER IS THE MARK OF GOOD BEDDING!

All Heal Bedding is manufactured at their own Model Factory in Tottenham Court Road under supremely hygienic conditions by skilled English workpeople, many of whom have been with the house for upwards of fifty years.

Write for booklet "Beds and Bedding," sent free by post to all readers of "Votes for Women."

HEAL & SON

TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.

Home Counties.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office—221, Old Christchurch Road.

Hon. Sec.—Miss G. Lewis.

There will be three different houses open for Census resisters, and it is hoped that many will join.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—5, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 1883 Nat.

Organiser—Miss G. Allan.

The office, which has been closed for cleaning and repainting, will be opened on Monday next. Members who have not yet met the organiser are asked, if passing, to call between 4 and 9 p.m. on Wednesday and Thursday, April 5 and 6, when tea will be served in the office and the organiser will be disengaged and able to see them. The Friday evening meetings will continue with the exception of to-night; members are specially asked to attend so as to keep in touch with the movement.

Friday, Mar. 31.—Brighton, Steine Hall, Mrs. Masy. Chair: Miss G. Allen, 8 p.m.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, County Hotel, Canterbury.

Thanks to Miss Nicoll, who is staying in Folkestone for some months, a regular street sale of the paper here is beginning. Volunteers are urgently needed and should apply to Miss Nicoll, Salisbury House, The Lees, Folkestone. All who read this notice are cordially invited to the meeting to be held by kind permission of Mrs. Smart and Miss Key—for details of which, see below. Will all Canterbury and South Kent Suffragists wishing to evade or resist the Census, communicate at once with the organiser? Also will all friends who have filled up their Self-Denial cards remember to mark them "Canterbury and South Kent" before returning them. If they have not done so, will they kindly write and mention it to the treasurer. All who have left canvassing envelopes should have collected them and returned them to the organiser by this time.

Friday, Mar. 31.—Folkestone, Trevorra, Bouverie Road West. Business Meeting. Miss Macaulay. Hostess: Miss Key. 8.15 p.m.

MAIDSTONE AND NORTH KENT.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth, 92, Stuart Road, Gillingham, Kent.

Will all members please concentrate now on increasing the paper sales. Street-sellers and house-to-house canvassers are urgently needed. A fund is being opened for providing posters to be shown at all the railway stations in this district. Will friends please send contributions to the organiser at the above address. Funds for North Kent campaign are especially needed. There is still time for those who have not yet sent in their names as Census resisters, or evaders, to do so. Will members and friends who are joining the Gillingham party please help in providing the necessary refreshments.

Friday, Mar. 31.—Gravesend, Clock Tower, 7.30 p.m.

Monday, April 3.—Chatham Town Hall, 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, April 5.—Gravesend, Medical Hall, Miss Laura Ainsworth. Chair: Miss Boorman. 7.30 p.m.

OXFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. E. F. Richards, 509, Woodstock Road.

The Hon. Sec., who is now able to go away to the seaside for a few weeks, wishes to heartily thank all members and friends for kind messages, flowers and fruit, sent to her during her serious illness. Members will be glad to hear that Miss Graham has now been able to return to Oxford. There will be a meeting at the Martyrs' Memorial to-night at 7 o'clock.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Organiser: Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 4, Pelham Road, Portsmouth, and 51, Oxford Street, Southampton.

£17 was given at the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday last as part of the Self-Denial Week results. The organiser hopes that more contributions will follow. It is hoped that all members and many sym-

pathisers in both towns will come to the all night reception on Census night (see below). An entertainment is being arranged, and Mr. Leigh Lovel, Miss Octavia Kenmore and Co., have kindly offered to give a dramatic recital of Ibsen's play, "Ghosts," in St. James' Hall, Charlotte Street, at 12.30 a.m.; there will be refreshments. Members are urged to bring coats and rugs. To help to defray expenses a small charge for admission will be made, probably 1s. Further particulars from Miss Marsh at above address. Sunday, April 2.—Portsmouth, 14, Arcade, All Night Reception and Entertainment.

RAYLEIGH.

Shop and Office—High Street.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, E.A., The White Cottage. Will members let the hon. secretary know how much they have sent to head quarters on their Self-Denial cards, so that the amount may be claimed to extend local work? Amounts are coming in from the house-to-house canvass, and will be acknowledged later. The hon. secretary will be glad to hear from sympathisers in Rochford or Hockley, as she wishes to start work in these neighbourhoods shortly. Tuesday, April 4.—Shop, High-street, 8.15 p.m.

READING.

Shop and Office: 34, Market Place.

Organiser—Miss Stella Fife.

Self-Denial Fund to date amounts to £9 14s., and though this may not seem a large sum, it is composed of a large number of small contributions, representing increasing interest in the movement. The question of sweated women workers and the Vote is attracting attention, and every effort must be made to have a full hall for Mrs. Arnett, on Tuesday next (see below). Will members note that a Jumble Sale will be held in April, and friends also are asked to reserve everything saleable when Spring Cleaning is in progress, and to communicate with the organiser if able to help in any way. Mrs. Green is starting a Penny contribution card, and intends to carry this continually with her, to collect for the Cause. Arrangements for Census night are now complete, and resisters will hear final instructions to-night at the Shop Meeting.

Friday, Mar. 31.—34, Market Place. Discussion Meeting, Members and Friends, 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, April 4.—Small Town Hall, Mrs. Arnett, Miss Dale. Chair: General T. H. Verner. 8 p.m.

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Richmond, Fensgate House.

Lieutenant Cather presided at the Carlton Room meeting on March 22. There was a good attendance, and warm support was evinced. Mrs. Ackroyd, P.L.G., of Croydon, spoke on "Woman's Place in the Municipality." She was intensely interesting, and was heartily thanked for her instructive speech. Mr. Richmond also spoke. Thanks to members who helped at the Rummage Sale on March 28, and to friends who sent goods. Any person wishing to join in the local Census protest please communicate at once with the hon. sec.

Wednesday, April 5.—Carlton Room, Miss Isabel Green. Chair: Miss Ford. 8 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—17, John Bright Street. Tel., 1413 Midland. Organisers—Miss Dorothy Evans and Miss Gladys Hazel.

Open-air meetings have been held all over the district during the past week. Everywhere the words "No Vote—No Census" have been chalked, and people are being told about the Census Protest. Friends who intend to resist or avoid the census are advised to communicate with the organisers at once, especially those who must have beds, and arrangements will be made to accommodate them. Offers of hospitality in houses from which there will be no census returns will be welcome. A large audience met to hear Mr. Rutland Boughton, Principal of the Birmingham and Midland

Institute of Music, at the Queen's College last Friday. His speech was received with great enthusiasm.
Friday, March 31.—Queen's College, Miss Una Dugdale, 8 p.m.
Sunday, April 2.—Harborne Labour Church, Miss Dorothy Evans, 6.30 p.m. Census Party (Central) present passes at office at 11 p.m.
Tuesday, April 4.—Suffrage Tea, Miss Gladys Hazel. Hostess: Miss Steen.
Friday, April 7.—Queen's College, Rev. R. W. Lumma, M.A.; Miss Maud Melley, 8 p.m.

COVENTRY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Dawson, St. Peter's Vicarage.
 After paying Rummage Sale expenses, £3 was handed over to Self-Denial Fund. Members are hoping to have Mr. Joseph Clayton here on Census night, in which case it is intended to take some hall, and after a public meeting those present who feel inclined to resist the Census shall be invited to remain. Gratefully acknowledged towards Self-Denial Fund: Mrs. M. Hayward, 6s.; Mrs. Shuttlebotham, 1s.; Anon., 1s.

DERBY.

Organiser—Miss Brewer, 6, Lime Avenue.
 Will all who have not been communicated with and wish to resist the Census, kindly write at once to Miss Brewer.

HANLEY, STOKE-ON-TRENT, AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Organiser—Miss Bertha Ryland, 12, Mayer Street, Hanley.

A most successful and encouraging drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Lake's house on Thursday last, and much sympathy and interest were aroused by Miss Gladys Hazel's speech and the discussion which followed. Some very good open-air meetings have been held, and thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of local members and sympathisers the campaign in the Potteries has been most successful in every way. In order to keep Votes for Women to the front in this important centre monthly meetings will be held in the different Pottery towns, further particulars later. Open-air meetings will also be held throughout the summer. Thanks to the M.P.U. for their valuable help.

LEAMINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Bull, Ashton House.
Thursday, April 6.—Trocodero Restaurant, Miss Dawson, 7.30 p.m.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.
Tel.—1714 Leicester.

Organiser—Miss Dorothy Pethick.

Tuesday, April 4.—Victoria Road Schoolroom, Parliamentary Debate, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, April 5.—Knights and Clarendon Park Conservative Club, Debate, Miss Pethick, 8 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—4, Carlton Street, Tel. 4511.
Hon. Secs.—Miss C. M. Burgis, R.N., Miss Wallis.

The Pageant of Great Women will be performed twice on May 4, at 3 p.m. and 8 p.m., in the Mechanics' Large Hall. Miss Edith Craig is personally superintending the arrangements, and Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Dedic Moore, Miss Winifred Mayo, and Miss Olive Perry have all promised their help. Tickets, 5s. and 2s. 6d. reserved, and 1s. unreserved, can now be had from members of the Special Committee, or from Mr. Foulds, Chapel Bar. It has already aroused wide interest and enthusiasm, and promises to be a brilliant success. There is still accommodation for more census protesters. Those who cannot take part themselves are offering contributions towards expenses. The Rummage Committee have had already a considerable number of contributions, but want a great deal more. Will members please save all they can and help in this way? Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Cohen, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Good, 2s. 6d. (Self-Denial).

RETFORD.

Shop—St. John Street.
Hon. Secs.—Miss Barber and Nurse Harner.
 On Thursday, March 23, and the following Saturday, a Votes for Women stall was held in Retford Market. Gratefully acknowledged for Self-Denial Week: Bawtry, 4s.; B.Y.H., 2s. 6d.; collected, 5s.; S.D., 2s. 6d.; Stall, 5s. 10d. Will paper sellers kindly come forward and help? Miss Barber has seven regular subscribers in Barnby Moor village. Fifty-eight copies are sold weekly in Retford.

West of England.

BATH.

Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath.
Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Mansel.

Census work continues. After Miss Isabel Seymour's very interesting speech at last Saturday's At Home several more signed the Census evaders' cards. Generous subscriptions were also made to the fund. A prominent Bath resident has decided to resist, and is throwing open her house on April 2. Women, make up your minds now not to let this unique opportunity of making a serious and logical protest go by. Shake off doubt. Come to the shop and give in your names now. Much is hoped from Miss Evelyn Sharp's meeting to convince last wavering. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss clothes towards Sale from Mrs. Hartley, a sympathiser in Wales. Can anyone lay claim to a purse left at the meeting on March 4?

Saturday, April 1.—Assembly Rooms, Miss Evelyn Sharp; Chair: Mrs. Mansel 3.30 p.m.
Saturday, April 2.—Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Perivoe, 3.30 p.m.

BRISTOL.

Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton. Tel. 1248.
Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.
 Miss Rachel Barrett was the speaker at the weekly At Home on Monday last. Her speech on Census resistance was greatly appreciated by all present. Many thanks to all those members who worked so well during Self-Denial week in order to raise money for the West of England campaign.

FALMOUTH.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Ross.
 c/o Mrs. F. Corbett, The Bungalow.
 Self-Denial week in Falmouth and Penryn has been very kindly responded to. The sum of £11 15s. 8d. has been contributed by sympathisers. The collectors, Miss Ross and Mrs. Frank Corbett, wish to express their thanks for all kind help and donations.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Office—6, Oriel Road, Cheltenham. Tel. 1071.
Organiser—Miss S. Ada Plattman.
 It is hoped that all local members will evade the Census. If they will communicate with the organiser at once, she will provide them with accommodation. It is suggested that a midnight supper-party shall be held, each one bringing her own provisions. The addresses given by Miss Evelyn Sharp on Tuesday last were much appreciated. Next Tuesday Lady Stout will speak on the effect of women's votes in New Zealand. Members are asked to distribute handbills among their friends and to make these meetings widely known by chalking their districts, etc. The organiser would be glad to have all Self-Denial cards sent in as soon as possible.

Sunday, April 2.—Census Protest, 10.30 p.m.
Tuesday, April 4.—Town Hall, Lady Stout, Miss Plattman, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, April 5.—6, Oriel Road, At Home, Miss Plattman, 5 to 9 p.m.

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer—Mrs. de Sauty Newby, St. Mary's, Broad Park Avenue, Ilfracombe.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Ball, Nursing Home, Larkstone, Ilfracombe.

It is hoped other tax-paying members will follow Miss Ball's courageous example, who is resisting the tax on her Nursing Home in Ilfracombe and Barnstaple. Much sympathy has been shown her as regards her action, from most unexpected quarters. Members are urgently requested to assist with selling Votes for Women at the shops, and from house to house.

WEST WILTS.

Hon. Sec. (per tem.)—Mrs. Dove-Willcox, 54, Bradley Road, Trowbridge.

Thanks to all those who so kindly helped to ensure the success of the recent Town Hall reception. To Mrs. Brailford herself, whose exceedingly interesting address resulted in new members and stimulated fresh interest, to Mrs. Outbott Hicks who so kindly gave of her valuable time and talent, to Mrs. Haden who lent the beautiful palms which graced the platform, and to all those helpers who came from near and far to make the affair a success, warmest thanks are due. A letter dealing with the Census protest has been sent to all the municipal women in Trowbridge, and has been followed up during the week with a house-to-house canvass. Arrangements for evasion have been made, but owing to the smallness of the town it has been thought wiser to keep these a secret. A sale of things "old and new" is the next thing in view, and as spring cleaning is in the air and housekeepers will be glad to rid themselves of many superfluous things, there should be a ready response to this appeal. Parcels to be sent to 50, Bradley Road.

WILTSHIRE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Katharine Abraham, 2, Estcourt Street, Devizes.

Many thanks to Misses Cross and Allen who kindly allowed the Devizes members to hold a marmalade tea at their home on Thursday and Friday. Marmalade is selling well, and the Secretary will be glad to receive further orders, also orders for Votes for Women furniture, cream, and crockery, kindly made by Miss Sainsbury. It is hoped during the summer months to have a stall in the market.

Saturday, April 8th.—Devizes Parish Room, Long Street, Rummage Sale, 3 p.m.

Wales.

BARRY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Walton, 29, Park Avenue, Barry.

Last week was spent in calling for the Self-Denial envelopes which had been left the previous week. The collecting of these was used as the means of propaganda work, difficulties were explained and new interest aroused. The financial result was very encouraging considering that only a limited number of streets could be visited.

CARDIFF.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett.

Hon. Sec.—Miss G. Speed, Cardiff Rd., Llanishan. Arrangements have been made in Cardiff for Census night. Will all those who wish to evade communicate with Miss Speed.

Thursday, April 6.—Whitehall Rooms, Reception, Lady Constance Lytton.

GRIFFITHSTOWN AND PONTYPOL.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, R.Sc., 24, Clarence Place, Newport.

On Friday afternoon a meeting and tea for members was held at St. Hilda's Schoolroom, Griffithstown, when Miss Barrett spoke on Census resistance. A prominent Griffithstown member is going to resist the Census, and will welcome into her house any women in Griffithstown and Pontypool who wish to evade it. Several gave in their names and the meeting welcomed the idea with enthusiasm.

NEWPORT.

Office—24, Clarence Place, Newport.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Humphrey Mackworth.

Last Thursday's At Home was again well attended. Mrs. Mackworth spoke on Census resistance. Thanks to Miss Clara Butler who recited, to the Misses Shannon, A.F.L., and to Miss Culverwell who sang. A good collection was taken. After the meeting a sale of home-made cakes, sweets, etc., was held, which was a great success. The takings amounted to over £3. Thanks to all members who sent contributions. Next week members are looking forward to hearing Mrs. Edwards of Cardiff, whose name is so well known in social work in that city. It is hoped that there will be a large attendance. A member who is resisting the Census will be glad to welcome into her home all who wish to evade it. A good rally is expected. Will members please keep all their discarded household goods, clothes, etc., for a jumble sale to be held shortly after Easter.

Thursday, April 6.—Shaftesbury Café, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Edwards, of Cardiff.

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop—44, Princess Street, Ipswich.
Organiser—Miss Grace Lee, 11, Elbert Street, Ipswich.
Shop Sec.—Miss King.

At a meeting of the Ipswich Independent Labour Party a resolution, brought forward in support of the Women's Bill, and urging Sir Daniel Ford Goddard and the Rev. Silvester Home to use every endeavour to secure the Government giving the necessary facilities to enable it to become law this Session, was carried. A copy of the resolution has already been forwarded to both members. Census arrangements for this district are now complete. If anyone wishing to evade the Census has not yet communicated with the organiser, they should do so immediately. Members will be pleased to hear that already over £70 Self-Denial money has been sent to the treasurer. Will members who have not yet returned their cards please do their utmost to send them to the organiser, with the amount raised, during the week. Thanks to Miss King's untiring efforts, and to the many members who so generously contributed to the shop sale during Self-Denial week, the total takings amounted to £30. The debate last Wednesday proved a great success. Mrs. O. K. Norton, Miss E. Lee, Miss Hyland and Miss Laura Day making very good speeches. Mrs. Norton is asked to keep Wednesday, May 10, free. The Lyceum Theatre has been booked for a matinee, when two plays will be given by the kindness of the Actress' Franchise League. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the guest of the afternoon. Further details will be given later. **Falstons.**—Members and friends will be delighted to hear that Miss Vida Goldstein will give an address at the Spa on Saturday afternoon, April 30. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Dr. Cobb. It will greatly help all who are able to give assistance of any kind will communicate with the organiser as soon as possible.

Sunday, April 2.—Old Museum Rooms, At Home, 11.30 p.m.
Wednesday, April 5.—Shop, Debate, Mrs. C. E. Norton, 4 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Office—24, Waddingham Lane, Phone 1008.
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
 Great interest has been aroused locally in the trial of Mrs. Hadden against the League.

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of Young Liberals, and much satisfaction is felt at the success he has scored. Next Wednesday's At Home, at which various members will tell "How I Spent Census Night," promises to be most interesting. Will any member who has been overlooked in sending out the Census notices, or any non-member who wishes to take part in the protest, please communicate with the organiser at once? Self-Denial cards are coming in well. The following have been received:—Mrs. Child, 17s.; Mrs. Beldon, £2 2s.; Mrs. Phillips, 5s.; Mrs. Fisher, 15s. 8d.; Miss Dickinson, 5s. 8d.; Miss Newton, £1 2s. 8d.

Sunday, April 2.—28, Mansingham Lane, At Home, 11 p.m. to noon, Monday.
Wednesday, April 5.—Ocham Institute, At Home, Symposium by Members, 8 p.m.

HALIFAX.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.
Hon. Sec.—Dr. Helena Jones, 3, Rhodesia Avenue.
 Lady Betty Balfour spoke most sympathetically of Mrs. Fankhurst's meeting to a meeting of Conservative ladies, whom she was addressing on the Suffrage, and urged them to come, an invitation which it is hoped they will accept. The meeting was also announced at a Socialist demonstration.

HUDDERSFIELD.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 26, Waddingham Lane, Bradford.

The Organiser or local members will be delighted to supply invitation cards for Lady Isabel Margeson's meeting to any who have not received them.

Monday, April 3.—Parochial Hall, George Street, Lady Isabel Margeson. Chair: Miss Loventhal, 8 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street.
Organiser—Miss A. Williams.

Will members send their Self-Denial cards, with money collected, to the organiser or to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence by the end of next week? Particulars of the Jarrold "Social" and the South Shields Whist Drive will be announced later. All energies must now be concentrated on making Miss Vida Goldstein's visit to Newcastle a big success. More volunteers for Poster Parade are wanted. Congratulations to Mrs. Leyden, who has raised the sale of Votes for Women in South Shields from four dozen per week to eight dozen. Miss Briggs and Miss West are proving themselves to be most successful sellers, and "enjoy it." As many members are getting their papers through newspapers, will they do their best to induce them to display the poster weekly? Thanks to those members who send copies of

the paper to the Royal Infirmary and the Free Library every week. The first monthly meeting at Sunderland was held at Westcott House on Thursday. The room was crowded with new members. Mrs. Aubrey was in the chair, and the organiser and Dr. Alice Burn were the speakers. The united meeting of the Women's Co-operative Guilds was well attended. Dr. Alice Burn, in the absence of the organiser, kindly spoke. Miss Violet Taylor gave an interesting address on Wednesday afternoon, and there was a large audience in the evening to hear the debate between her and Miss Eton. Mrs. Atkinson presided. Census plans are now complete.

Friday, March 31.—South Shields, Victoria Hall, Miss Williams and others, 7.30 p.m.

Saturday, April 1.—77, Blackett Street, Poster Parade, 5 p.m.

Sunday, April 2.—Census Evadon, 77, Blackett Street, 10.30 p.m.

Wednesday, April 5.—77, Blackett Street, 7.30 p.m.

Friday, April 7.—Newcastle, Town Hall, Miss Vida Goldstein, 7.30 p.m.

ROTHERHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Black, 43, High Street.

Miss Vida Goldstein and Miss Adela Fankhurst will address a meeting in the Town Hall Assembly Rooms on May 2. A choir to render Dr. Ethel Smyth's music is being formed. An energetic committee of ladies is organising the meeting which promises to be a crowded one. The Rotherham Y.M.C.A. debating club held a mock Parliament and turned their Liberal Government out on Women's Suffrage. They are now wishing to debate the question with a Suffragist speaker.

SCARBOROUGH.

Shop—39, Huntriss Row.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Saffell, 13, New Queen Street.

Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marion Mackenzie, 5, The Valley.

Miss Adela Fankhurst's meeting on Wednesday last was crowded. Her appeal for practical help resulted in a good many of her audience volunteering to deliver letters. Major Briggs, in the chair, said he had believed in Women's Suffrage for twenty-five years, but had only been led to join the M.P.U. and take an active part through the disgraceful treatment of the Women's Deputation in November. People might say militant tactics had alienated a few, but they had certainly made many more keen. Paper-sellers are urgently needed to break down the Press boycott. Last week one member sold 170 copies, as she was the only street-seller available. Will the members make a special effort for this valuable and necessary work? The whole town should be picketed. Many thanks to

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24, 25, 26, Newgate St., London, E.C.

The editor of the *Scarborough Post* for the generous way in which he reports Suffrage views.
Wednesday, April 5.—39, Huntress Row, Miss Key Jones, 8 p.m.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst.
Shop 34-36, Chapel Walk, Sheffield.
Tel.: Broadhill 410.
Particulars of the all-night meetings, several of which are being arranged, can be had at the Shop. It is hoped that no reader of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* will consent to fill up the Census paper. Mrs. Jones, of Chesterfield, has kindly consented to lend her motor to help to advertise Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting in the Albert Hall on May 1. Miss Vida Goldstein will also speak. Members and friends can meet Miss Goldstein and Mrs. Pankhurst on Monday afternoon if they apply for an invitation and intend being present at the evening meeting. Members are asked to take tickets for this meeting, those unused to be returned not later than April 30; tickets retained by members after that date will be counted as sold. Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting in Barnsley will be held in the Empire Palace on April 30. Tickets, reserved and numbered, 1s.; unreserved, 6d. and 3d.; a few free tickets can be supplied to women. Mrs. White, P.L.G., will be one of the speakers. Particulars of the Doncaster meeting will appear next week. Thanks to all shopkeepers, canvassers, collectors, to Miss Beyer for painting the stairs, to Barnsley friends for their generous and valuable help, to Mrs. Jones for her motor and a generous contribution of £5, to Miss Denton and Miss Andrew and other subscribers, and to the women householders of Sheffield who have contributed to Self-Denial Fund.

YORK.

Office—25, Cony Street. Organiser—Miss Key Jones.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Constance, 33, Melbourne Street.
A Jumble Sale will be held on April 8. Further particulars will be given later. "Cleaning time" is near. Will all members look around and decide what things must be cleared out? Any article of wearing apparel, household goods, anything and everything, will be acceptable. Members, please rally round and help in this work, remembering that united effort spells success. Whist drive tickets, 1s.
Friday, March 31.—Assembly Rooms, Whist Drive, 8 p.m.

North-Western Counties.

BIRKENHEAD.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. E. Abraham, 3, Kingsmead Road, 8.
Arrangements are being made to avoid the Census. Plans are not yet completed. The usual fortnightly meeting, on Friday, April 7, will take the form of a business meeting, and every member is urged to be present at 8 p.m. sharp.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.): Mrs. Margaret E. Farrington, 118, Dorset Street, Haugh, Bolton.
A successful jumble sale, promoted by Mrs. F. W. Cooper, "Manchester," was held in the Institute for the Deaf, on Tuesday evening, March 21. Many members and friends sent parcels of clothing, &c. Previous to the sale a short meeting was held. Mr. F. W. Cooper presided, and an address was given by Nurse Griffin, of Manchester. During the meeting tea was served. Business was exceedingly brisk and the 20 helpers were kept busy. Special thanks to Mrs. and Miss Carling and Mrs. Horby who rendered excellent service in carrying out the sale arrangements. The proceeds of the sale are a little over £10.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—11, Renshaw Street. Tel. 3761 Royal.
Organiser—Miss Davies.
A large number of names are coming in for Census protest. On Thursday, April 6, members will meet in their new office, 11, Renshaw Street, to take tea and talk over their experiences on April 2. Will some members spare a few hours to help Miss Davies make window curtains and re-cover screens. Any chairs, forms, or even couches would be most acceptable in the new office.
Thursday, April 6.—11, Renshaw Street, Members Meeting, 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

Central Office—17, St. Ann's Square, Manchester. Tel. 1910 Central. Organiser—Miss Stephenson.
Self-Denial Cards, together with monies collected should be sent in without delay. An urgent appeal is made for volunteers for the paper-selling corps. Mrs. Morris is undertaking the Whist Drive arrangements for to-night. Tickets, 1s. 6d. each. Best thanks to Mrs. Yates for her kind gift of two prizes. Proceeds of the Drive will go to Self-Denial Fund. Gifts of provisions should be sent to the office by 12 noon today. Those wishing to evade the Census should communicate at once with Miss Stephenson, who has rented a large house in Manchester, and extends a cordial invitation to all. Guests will incur no liability whatever. Please bring refreshments, rugs and cushions.
Friday, March 31.—17, St. Ann's Square, Whist Drive, 7 p.m.
Sunday, April 2.—Census Sunday, Miss Stephenson, "At Home," Census Lodge, 4 p.m.
Tuesday, April 4.—17, St. Ann's Square, "At Home," Miss Jessie Stephenson, 3 to 5 p.m.
Friday, April 7.—17, St. Ann's Square, "At Home," Miss Mary Phillips, Miss Jessie Stephenson.

SOUTHPORT.

Office—13, Nevill Street.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Ashby.
At last Friday's meeting it was decided (owing to the energetic response to the monthly guarantee fund) to take the new office at 1, Post Office Avenue. It was suggested that a Jumble Sale should shortly be arranged during Spring-cleaning period to augment the treasury. An open-air campaign will start on Good Friday with a big demonstration on the shore; a caravan has been kindly lent. Speakers will be announced later. Mrs. Flower has kindly accepted the position of President of the local organisation. Will members please try and keep up the weekly paper sales? Friday March 31.—Members Meeting, 7.30 p.m.

WALLASEY.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Mahood, Bursough Bridge; Mrs. F. Heathcote, 21, Martins Lane, Liscard.
The debate on "The Social and Economic Status of Women," held at 1, Mainwaring Road, last Monday, was a great success. The room was crowded, and Mrs. Avery was most interesting. Census registers have replied to Miss Hay's invitation, splendidly, and she expects a "full house." The usual fortnightly meeting has been postponed until April 10, and a General Meeting has been arranged in Liverpool, on Thursday, April 6, at 7.30 p.m. It is hoped all local members will do their best to be present. Mr. Haldane visited Seacombe on Saturday last, when Miss O'Kieff managed to remind him of the momentous question, "Votes for Women." Many thanks to members who have got the promise of another poster to be exhibited in Egremont. Will Seacombe and Wallasey members try to do the same?

Scotland.

ABERDEEN.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Lucy Nicholson, 51, Queen's Road.
A drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Trail's, Old Aberdeen, on Saturday, 25th inst. Great interest was shown in Miss Bury's explanation of the anti-Government policy. In the evening a large open-air meeting was held to announce Miss Vida Goldstein's meeting on April 3. Many thanks to all members and sympathisers who are so willingly selling tickets and interesting their friends.
Monday, April 3.—Music Hall, Ball Room, Miss Vida Goldstein, 8 p.m.

DUNDEE AND EAST FIFE.

Office—51, Netherbow. Organiser—Miss Fraser Smith, S.A. Hon. Sec.—Miss McFarlane.
To-night Miss Goldstein speaks in the Upper Glasgow Hall, and a large audience is anticipated. The "March of the Women" will be rendered by Miss Rosa Macdonald, supported by a choir of members. The Cake and Candy Sale, so graciously opened by Lady Isabel Margesson, proved a great success. The workers' indefatigable efforts were well rewarded by the brisk clearance of all goods and the realisation of over £25. On March 23 a studio at Home was kindly given by Mrs. Sinclair in honour of Mrs. Chapin, Actress Franchise League, who made a most eloquent plea for Woman Suffrage. A new departure was made at the weekly meeting of March 22, when Miss McFarlane read extracts from Olive Schreiner's "Dreams." A meeting, bound to have good results, was addressed by Madame Malmberg in Glasgow, on March 24. Many thanks to Miss Kemp, Mrs. Mackay and others, for their valuable assistance, and to Mrs. Lecky, an enthusiastic militant, over eighty years of age, for hospitality.
Friday, March 31.—Drawing-room Meeting, Miss Vida Goldstein. Hostess: Miss Clara Grant. Miss Janet Storer, 3 p.m. Upper Glasgow Hall, Miss Vida Goldstein. Chair: Mrs. Renny, 8 p.m.
Sunday, April 2.—All-night meetings.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Organiser—Miss Lucy Burns, S.A. Tel.: 6183 Central.
In last week's report an account was omitted of the delightful meeting held, March 17, in Berwick-on-Tweed, at which Mr. Housman was the speaker. Lady Isabel Margesson gave valuable assistance during the past week, speaking at Portobello, Edinburgh and Kirkcaldy. Many thanks to Mrs. Grieve for her beautifully planned drawing-room meeting at Collieston, Portobello. The Kirkcaldy meeting, held Friday afternoon, was also most successful; some hundred people, almost all of them strangers to the movement, listened with closest interest to Lady Isabel Margesson's thoughtful and illuminating speech. For Census night all members are cordially invited to the Café Vegetaria, Nicholson Street; guests may amuse themselves with bridge, songs, recitations, speeches, wax-works; comfortable corners for sleepers also provided. Coffee will be served at 1.30; breakfast (6d.) at 8 a.m. Resisters and evaders in private houses will be directly communicated with. On Thursday next, Miss Emily Buchanan, who plays beautifully on the violin, has kindly consented to begin the afternoon meeting with music.
Monday, April 3.—Café Vegetaria, Entertainments, 12.30 a.m. Café open from 8.30 p.m. Sunday.
Thursday, April 6.—Edinburgh Café, Oak Hall, At Home, 3 p.m. 8, Melville Place, At Home, Mrs. Brailford, 8 p.m.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—302, Sauchiehall Street. Tel.: 611, Charing Cross. Organiser—Miss Wylie.
The At Home given by Mrs. Kedie, Mrs. Barclay, Mrs. Reagin, Miss McLean, Miss Beckett, and Miss Fyfe, was an unqualified success. The Hall was filled with an appreciative audience, and Lady Isabel Margesson's speech was most convincing. Through Mrs. Kedie's generosity, each member of the audience received a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and as a result of the gathering three new subscribers to the paper were secured. The At Home in the Clark Memorial Hall in Paisley, arranged by Miss Jean Boed, was very well attended, and Lady Isabel Margesson's speech was much appreciated. Votes for Women sold well, and a good collection was taken. Two new members and a new subscriber to the paper were gained. The Hillhead Hall entertainment in aid of Self-Denial Fund was most successful and enjoyable. To Mrs. White, who arranged the tableaux, the Misses McPhun, who were responsible for the wax-works, and the Misses Gibb, who arranged the musical part of the programme—heartly thanks. Mrs. Reid kindly took the chair at the weekly At Home on Saturday. For many years she has worked hard in the cause of temperance, but has now resigned her secretaryship, feeling sure she can better obtain temperance reform when women have the vote. Will members please work hard to ensure a successful meeting on Tuesday for Miss Goldstein and Mr. Duval; and come in their hundreds on Census night. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Gibb (sale of poppers), 15s.; Mrs. L. Henderson, £1 1s.; Mrs. White (sale of marmalade), 15s.; Mrs. White (self-denial), £1 6s.; Mrs. Robert Hunter, £1 1s.; Mrs. Sterling, £1 1s.; Messrs. Henderson, 10s.
Saturday, April 1.—Charing Cross Hall, At Home, Mr. Large, 3 p.m.
Tuesday, April 4.—Charing Cross Hall, Miss Vida Goldstein, Mr. Victor Duval. Chair: Mr. McKendrick, 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Education Mistress—Miss Rose Lee, 45, Ashworthy Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.G.
Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.
Although a good number of meetings have been arranged this week in connection with the out-door campaign, many more speakers are asked to come forward, because the hard work, as usual, falls to the willing few. Will those who have any spare evenings make up their minds how many they will give either to speaking or chairing. This latter part any member of the class can undertake, and it is a splendid way of starting to speak. Those who feel they cannot do it because they can only speak for so short a time are urged to try, as even a speech of a few minutes in which to collect a crowd for the speaker is of the utmost value. All speakers are asked to remember to mention *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in their speeches, and to sell them at the end of the meeting, and will each one take a supply with her, and, when possible, a flag? The subject for to-night's class will be a speech to a dinner-hour meeting of factory hands. The meetings which have been held have been received by such interested and sympathetic crowds that members are asked to play up, and to help their utmost to make this campaign a real success.

RULES.

1. Members of the Union only are eligible.
2. The Class is held at 4, Clements Inn, Room 27, every Friday, at 7.45 p.m. sharp.
3. Entrance fee 3d. weekly, proceeds to be used for the purchase of educational literature.
4. The Library books are only to be kept one week, and must be returned or sent by post before the next class.
5. Members are limited to ten classes, and it must be clearly understood that no one shall be admitted to these classes except intending speakers.

The Private Classes are held at 41, Norfolk Square (Fleet Street Station), by kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton, on Tuesdays at 7.45, on Saturdays at 4 p.m.
CLERKS' W.S.P.U.
Hon. Secs.: Miss Phyllis Ayrton, 55, Edith Road, West Kensington; Miss Cynthia Maguire, 18, Carlton Vale, Walsley, N.W.
Members of the Clerks' W.S.P.U. are throwing themselves heartily into the schemes for Census resistance. Already plans are being made for forming a large clerks' contingent in the procession of June 17, therefore every woman clerk W.S.P.U. should put herself into communication at once with Miss Ayrton and Miss Maguire, with a view to making this widely known to business women.

WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

For the most beautiful designs, combined with the highest quality at competitive prices, see the collection of Gem Jewellery, Gold and Silver Plate on view at the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd., 112, Regent Street, London, W. (Advt.)

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